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## **'Scholia non serviana, Lactantius Placidus, the Vatican Mythographers and mythological lore: A case study of Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253'**

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## *Scholia non serviana*, Lactantius Placidus, the Vatican Mythographers and mythological lore: A case study of Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253

*Scholia non serviana*, that is non-Servian notes which surface in early medieval Vergil manuscripts, represent a sizeable body of commentary materials that accompanied the poet's works in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I draw on these *scholia non serviana* in a single ninth-century Vergil manuscript to argue for their importance. To this end, I demonstrate that non-Servian comments were a constituent of early medieval glosses on Vergil by cataloguing the range of such notes in Ms. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253, a ninth-century glossed Vergil manuscript - not an isolated case but closely affiliated with other early medieval glossed Vergil manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> I also illustrate the reach of the *scholia non serviana* by showing that they furnished mythological information in the Montpellier Vergil and that analogues occur in early medieval glossographic, encyclopaedic and mythographic collections. In the Montpellier manuscript, for example, the late-antique commentary on the *Thebaid* ascribed to Lactantius Placidus was a key source of pagan mythological lore. In addition, similar « Lactantian » content is found in the anonymous mythographical texts known as the Vatican Mythographers.<sup>3</sup> Given the close ties between the shared elements in the Montpellier Vergil and the Mythographers, as well as the oft-recognised overlap between Vergil glosses and various kinds of anthologies (including the Latin glossary tradition), it seems likely that a common intermediary source or sources underpinned some of the non-Servian glosses in the Montpellier manuscript and the mythological material in the Vatican Mythographers. This paper, thus, contributes to broader scholarly discussion of a close kinship between early medieval glosses and encyclopaedic compendia of all sorts, including lexicographical and glossographical collections. As such, it situates glosses within mainstream intellectual culture.

### *Description of the Montpellier Vergil*

Ms. Montpellier H 253, fols. 219, is dated by Bernhard Bischoff to the second third of the ninth century (he dates fols. 1-4 and 216-219 to the tenth/eleventh century and the inserted sheet on fol. 120 to the end of the ninth century).<sup>4</sup> The manuscript transmits the major works of Vergil together with a number of *accessus* materials, including some pseudo-Ovidian *argumenta* and mythological comments (*Fabulae mythologicae* on the sixth book of the *Eclogues* on fols. 2v-3v and the *Origo Troianorum* on fol. 120r).<sup>5</sup> The manuscript is glossed

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the various *scholia non serviana*, see David DAINTREE & Mario GEYMONAT, « Scholia non serviana », *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 4, Rome, 1988, p. 706-720. Early medieval glossators on Vergil drew upon non-Servian sources such as the so-called Bern scholia and the commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus. Glosses also sometimes show affinities with a commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* that circulated under the name of Marcus Valerius Probus. See, for example, a gloss on Tereus which shows parallels with Servius, Ps-Probus and the Mythographers in Sinéad O'SULLIVAN, « Glossing Vergil and pagan learning in the Carolingian age », *Speculum*, 93/1, 2018, p. 160-161.

<sup>2</sup> I coin the term « Montpellier Vergil » for Ms. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section médecine, H 253 as the manuscript is the oldest surviving glossed Vergil manuscript in Montpellier.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the so-called Vatican Mythographers is uncertain. See pages 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen): Teil II: Laon-Paderborn (aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger)*, Wiesbaden, 2004 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*), Nr. 2852, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> See Silvia OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », unpubl. PhD dissertation, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, 2014, p. 265, 269 and 304 for comments on *Eclogue* 6, 41-81 in Ms.

with marginal and interlinear annotations by contemporary and later hands, one of which, dated to the ninth century and responsible, as Silvia Ottaviano observes, for transcribing many of the glosses throughout the manuscript, also copied the text in an entire quire on fols. 192r-199v.<sup>6</sup> According to Anatole Boucherie, the Montpellier manuscript originated in *la France d'Oil*.<sup>7</sup> Others too suggest that the manuscript was written in the northern half of France. Bischoff proposed northeast France as the place of origin.<sup>8</sup> Bischoff's assessment is corroborated by Ottaviano's research, which highlights the affinities between the Montpellier Vergil and other manuscripts many of which circulated in northeast and northcentral France.<sup>9</sup> What is noteworthy about the affiliated manuscripts is that most are associated with a region where a concentration of Vergilian studies is confirmed by the ninth century. David Daintree discerns that the majority of the surviving Vergil manuscripts from the ninth century emanate from northern and northeast France.<sup>10</sup> And Ottaviano outlines an important expansion of Vergilian scholarship in northeast France in the second half of the ninth century in the time of Charles the Bald.<sup>11</sup>

Manifesting trends attested elsewhere in other ninth- and tenth-century glossed Vergil manuscripts, the Montpellier Vergil exhibits a profusion of Servian and non-Servian annotations.<sup>12</sup> The late antique commentary of Servius on Vergil was evidently a key source

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Montpellier H 253, fols. 2v-3v and for the *Origo Troianorum* on fol. 120r. In the collection of comments on the sixth book of the *Eclogues*, Ottaviano observes that we find the myths of Deucalion, Prometheus, Hippomenes and others.

<sup>6</sup> B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 2, Nr. 2852, p. 205. S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 264 and 322, outlines key characteristics of this ninth-century hand.

<sup>7</sup> Anatole Boucherie, *Fragment d'un commentaire sur Virgile*, Montpellier, 1875, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 2, Nr. 2852, p. 205; Birger MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vol. 2, Paris, 1985, p. 737-738.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 52 in scrinio (saec. IX<sup>2/4</sup>, Saint Germain des Prés?); Ms. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 468 (saec. IX<sup>3/4</sup>, Laon); Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8 (saec. IX<sup>2/4</sup>, Paris region); Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10307 (saec. IX<sup>2</sup>, eastern France, Laon?); Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7925 (saec. IX<sup>ex</sup>, Limoges, southern France?). See S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 303-304 and 311. To Ottaviano's list of closely-related manuscripts we can also add a later eleventh-century manuscript: Ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1670 (saec. XI, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés?). With regards to the Vatican manuscript, an *ex libris* on fol. 179v connects it with the abbey of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: *hic est liber sancti Petri Fossatis si quis eum furauerit maledictione perpetua*. See Hendrikje A. BAKKER, « *Totus quidem Vergilius scientia plenus est*: De glossen bij de vierde Ecloga en het zesde boek van de Aeneis (The glosses on the fourth Eclogue and the sixth book of the Aeneid) », unpubl. PhD dissertation, Utrecht university, 2007, p. 366. With regards to the Hamburg and Paris manuscripts noted above, Ottaviano has shown that in their text, these manuscripts, together with the Montpellier codex, share a number of errors and belong to a specific group. See S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 79, 82, 89, 222, 267-268, 276, 278; Robert A. KASTER, *The tradition of the text of the Aeneid in the ninth century*, Harvard Dissertations in Classics, New York, 1990, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> David DAINTREE, « The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus – Black hole or *éminence grise*? », *Greece and Rome*, 37, No. 1, 1990, p. 74-75.

<sup>11</sup> S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 42, 69-70. She has singled out northeast France as a hub of Vergilian scholarship in the ninth century. See S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* nei manoscritti carolingi di Virgilio: Prime notizie degli scavi », *Exemplaria Classica: Journal of Classical Philology*, 17, 2013, p. 223.

<sup>12</sup> In some instances, we find Servian and non-Servian comments to the same lemma as in the following glosses: *CVM FACIAM VITVLAM Quia mos erat uitulam offerre antequam messes meterentur* [Eclogue 3, 77, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 7v4; Georg THILO & Hermann HAGEN (ed.) *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1881-1902, 3.2: 62, 18-20; Hermann HAGEN (ed.), *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica*, Leipzig, 1867, rpt. Hildesheim, 1967 (*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband*, 4), p. 771]; *CVM FACIAM VITVLAM Cum sacrificauero* (Ms. Montpellier, fol. 7v4; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 39, 15-16); *CVM FACIAM VITVLAM « Cum faciam uitulam ». Hoc sacrificium aruambale dicitur, quod arua ambiat uictima: sicut amburbale uel amburbium dicitur sacrificium, quod urbem circuit et ambit uictima* (Ms. Montpellier, fol. 7v4; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 39, 18-21).

for the glossators of the manuscript. His work was often excerpted and sometimes shortened<sup>13</sup> and he is even mentioned by name.<sup>14</sup> Crucially important, however, was the discovery by Ottaviano of unknown glosses on the *Aeneid* in the Montpellier Vergil, some of which are also attested by a now fragmentary manuscript copied in the abbey of St. Emmeram in Regensburg in the second third of the ninth century.<sup>15</sup> This fragmentary manuscript, currently housed in continental libraries, transmits glosses written by a contemporary hand and in a minuscule that manifests Insular traits.<sup>16</sup> In sum, the Montpellier Vergil not only shows parallels with other glossed Vergil manuscripts, but also, through its links with the St. Emmeram manuscript, bears witness to the diffusion of Vergil glosses from the Carolingian heartland to southern Germany. Given its affiliations and rich tapestry of annotations, the Montpellier Vergil, then, affords a good illustrative case study for examination of the variety of commentary materials at the heart of the early medieval appropriation of *the poet of antiquity*.

### *Part 1: Range of « scholia non serviana » in the Montpellier Vergil*

<sup>13</sup> The following glosses are drawn from Servius, the second of which shortens Servius: *HVC ADES O GALATHEA 'Huc ades o Galathea:' Teocriti uersus sunt, quibus inducit Ciclopem usum, cum scopulo sedens amicam suam Galatheam de fluctibus inuitaret ad terras. Ciclops enim dicitur nymphe <m> amasse Galatheam: quae cum Acin quendam pastorem amaret et Poliphemum sperneret, ille iratus Acin necauit. Qui postea Galathea miseratione in fontem mutatus est, qui hodie latine Acinius dicitur. Et ad maiorem terrarum laudem dicit in mari nullam esse uoluntatem. Nam haec est plena laus, quae etiam contrariarum rerum continet uituperationem* (Eclogue 9, 39, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 15v3; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 114, 25-115, 5); *ARGIRIP[T]AM Diomedes fuit de ciuitate quae Argos ipen dicitur. Hic in Apulia condidit ciuitatem, quam patriae suae nomine appellauit, quod nomen postea uetustate corruptum est, et factum ut ciuitas Agirippa diceretur, quod rursus corruptu <m> Arpos fecit* (Aeneid 11, 246; Ms. Montpellier, fol. 193v6; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 2: 505, 26-506, 4).

<sup>14</sup> *IOLLA Iolla idem est et Menalchas qui, ut Seruius dicit, binomius fuit* (Eclogue 3, 79, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 7v6; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 39, 22-23). We find similar interest in naming Servius in other glossed Vergil manuscripts. For example, in the annotation below in the opening page of the *Eclogues* in a Vergil manuscript, Ms. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, lat. 407 (saec. IX<sup>2</sup>, northeast France), Servius is named as the source: *SAEPE TENER...AGNVS Seruius. Imbuere est proprie inchoare uel initiare. Nemo autem unam eandemque rem saepe inchoat. Sed constat saepe pascua mutare pastores. Vnde necesse est pastores totiens aras imbuere, quotiens mutauerint pascua* (Eclogue 1, 8; Ms. Valenciennes 407, fol. 2r8; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 6, 5-10). For a description of the Valenciennes manuscript, see R. KASTER, *The tradition of the text of the « Aeneid » in the ninth century*, p. 27. We know that for its provenance we can look to St. Amand. See Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen): Teil III: Padua-Zwickau (aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Birgit Ebersperger)*, Wiesbaden, 2014 (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe der mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*), Nr. 6394, p. 400 locates it in northeast France and dates it to the second half of the ninth century.

<sup>15</sup> S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 221-244. My paper is greatly indebted to Silvia Ottaviano's work on the early medieval reception of Vergil. On the basis of variations in the glosses, Ottaviano demonstrates that the Montpellier Vergil and the St. Emmeram fragmentary manuscript are independent of each other. For the stemmatic relationship between the Montpellier Vergil and the St. Emmeram manuscript, see S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 223, 230 and 236. For the location and date of the fragments, see B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 2, Nr. 3353, p. 276. What is noteworthy about the shared glosses on the *Aeneid* in the Montpellier and St. Emmeram manuscripts is that a number of them, heavily mythological in character, sometimes display, as Ottaviano demonstrates, similarities with the First Vatican Mythographer. See S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 221 and 226.

<sup>16</sup> For the characteristics of this hand, see Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, I: Die bayerischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 219-20; 271-2. See also S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 223-226. As for the Insular traits, Ottaviano observes, these should hardly be a surprise given the well-established ties between southern Germany and Neustria, « dove la presenza di Scotti (così come, in generale, nell'Occidente carolingio) è ben documentata ».

Phrases such as *Quod aliter protulit Servius* in a gloss in the Montpellier Vergil indicate an awareness that Servius was not the sole authority available to the glossators.<sup>17</sup> We find similar recognition in other Vergil manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> The Montpellier Vergil bears witness to the myriad of non-Servian notes circulating in Vergil manuscripts in the ninth century.<sup>19</sup> These include interpolations to Servius, excerpts from commentaries on Vergil, information gleaned from standard authorities, and unknown annotations often attested elsewhere and sometimes suggesting the existence of lost Vergilian commentaries. Much about this heterogeneous body of commentary remains unclear.<sup>20</sup> Given the practices of early medieval glossators and their penchant for synthesising sources, it is sometimes hard to determine whether a non-Servian comment is an ancient remnant or a medieval addition.<sup>21</sup> There is also the related difficulty of establishing how ancient is the material in the Vergilian commentaries.<sup>22</sup> In general, when examining the *scholia non serviana* in the Montpellier Vergil it is useful to recall the words of Daintree who cautions against searching for a « classical original » behind « every intellectual attainment during the Middle Ages ».<sup>23</sup> What is clear is that the non-Servian elements in the Montpellier manuscript have a strong classical and medieval imprint.

### *Augmented Servius*

<sup>17</sup> AMPHION *Hic Amphion filius Iouis fuit, ut alii dicunt Mercurii cuius lyra accepta canens muros Thebanos dicitur constituisse, ut eius cantu spontanea se saxa muris imponerent. Quod aliter protulit Servius* (Eclogue 2, 24, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 5v9). Analogues are found in the disparate body of comments known as the Bern scholia. See G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 36, 6-14; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 759. Identical information appears in the commentary on Statius's *Thebaid* (1, 10) ascribed to the late antique grammarian, Lactantius Placidus. For the commentary, see Robert Dale SWEENEY (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida Commentum, Volumen I; Anonymi in Statii Achilleida Commentum; Fulgentii ut fingitur Planciadis super Thebaiden Commentariolum*, (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997. A number of phrases in the gloss overlaps with comments in the Second Vatican Mythographer. For an edition of the Mythographers, see Péter KULCSÁR (ed.), *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*, Turnhout, 1987, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 91c, 2, cap. 98, 17.

<sup>18</sup> For example, in the following gloss different interpretations are drawn from various named authorities, including Servius: *ACTEO ARACHINTO Vt Filargius dicit mons est in Attica; nam ut Fona dicit non in Attica, sed in Armoenia. Pro eo dictus Arachintus, quia nemorosum accipimus; 'in acteo arachinto', quia nemorosum est. Servius tamen, quod mons est Tebanus dicit et 'acteo' litorali debemus accipere* (Eclogue 2, 24; Ms. Valenciennes 407, fol. 4r7; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 22, 1-2; 3.2: 36, 17-37, 1; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 759. The reference to « Fona » in the gloss recalls the title of *Explanatio I: In nomine dei summi in Bucolica pauca ordinantur fona*. For which, see G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 1, 1-2.

<sup>19</sup> The high status of Vergil goes a long way to account for why Carolingian glossators surrounded his works with all available commentaries and glosses, as well as added new information. In some instances, the non-Servian materials provided early medieval glossators with alternative interpretations to Servius. It has been suggested that one reason why annotators may have consulted non-Servian collections such as the so-called Bern scholia was that the Bern scholia appear, as David Daintree has noted, to show « a greater preoccupation with allegory ». See David DAINTREE, « Virgil and Virgil scholia in early medieval Ireland », *Romanobarbarica*, 16, 1999, p. 347-361, at p. 349.

<sup>20</sup> For example, see the footnote 23.

<sup>21</sup> For the blending of Servian and non-Servian materials in a running independent commentary on Virgil, see Sinéad O'SULLIVAN, « Servius in the Carolingian age: A case study of London, British Library, Harley 2782 », *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 26, 2016, p. 77-123.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, we find interpolations in these commentaries, most famously in Servius. Servius exists in two forms: the original or vulgate Servius written by the grammarian Servius probably in the early fifth century and the expanded version known as Servius Danielinus (*DS*) after its first editor, Pierre Daniel, who published what he thought to be the true Servius. The commentary known as « Servius Danielinus » contains additional material as well as alterations and deletions. See George P. GOOLD, « Servius and the Helen Episode », *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 74, 1970, p. 105-117.

<sup>23</sup> D. DAINTREE, « The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus », p. 70. For the mixture of Servius and Bern scholia in Ms. London, British Library, Harley 2782, see S. O'SULLIVAN, « Servius in the Carolingian age ».

In the Montpellier Vergil there are glosses drawn from the expanded version of Servius known as « Servius auctus » or « Servius Danielinus » after its first editor, Pierre Daniel (1600). While uncertainty surrounds the origins, authorship and transmission of the additions in the augmented Servius, we know that Servius was supplemented in the early Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup> A notable example is provided by the expanded version of the commentary of Servius in a Vatican manuscript: Ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1495 (saec. X/XI, prov. Rheims).<sup>25</sup> What is significant is that the additional material in the Vatican manuscript, printed in the apparatus to Georg Thilo's edition of Servius, occurs elsewhere as annotations in early medieval manuscripts, including the Montpellier Vergil.

On occasion, some of the additional materials in « Servius auctus » occur both on their own and together with Servius in the Montpellier manuscript.<sup>26</sup> In a number of instances, there are reminiscences of the supplementary content in the expanded Servius, as in the following annotation discussing the human sacrifice of Polyxena where there is some verbal overlap, indicated in bold, with « Servius Danielinus »:

*Aeneid* 3, 321

MONTPELLIER H 253 FOL. 86R21	SERVIUS DANIELINUS
O FELIX VNA ANTE ALIAS PRIAMEIA VIRGO O felix ante alias. Greci cum euersa Troia praedam diuiderent. Achillis umbra e tumulo suo exiliuit et praedae partem,	PRIAMEIA VIRGO... <i>cum Graeci uictores in patriam uellent reueri, <b>e tumulo Achillis uox dicitur audita querentis, quod sibi soli de <b>praeda</b> nihil inperitiuissent. De qua re</b></i>

<sup>24</sup> Initially believed to represent a more comprehensive version of Servius, the additional material, generally labelled as « D », came to be regarded as coming from a different source. The attribution of the « D » material to the late antique grammarian Aelius Donatus by E. K. Rand in the early twentieth century found widespread support until the theory was dismantled by figures such as Daintree and others in the latter half of the century. See Edward K. RAND, « Is Donatus's commentary on Virgil lost? », *The Classical Quarterly*, 10, No. 3, 1916, p. 158-164, and for a revision of the Rand theory, Giorgio BRUGNOLI, « Servio », *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 4, Rome, 1988, p. 805-813, at p. 809-810 and especially D. DAINTREE, « The Virgil commentary of Aelius Donatus », p. 68-69. See also Daniel VALLAT, « Le *Servius* de Daniel: Introduction », *Eruditio Antiqua*, 4, 2012, p. 89-99. Questions also surround the origins of what some believe to be the single compiler of the expanded Servius. For example, scholars such as Karl Barwick and Louis Holtz maintain that for the creation of the most famous augmented Servius one should look to Ireland. See Karl BARWICK, « Zur Serviusfrage », *Philologus*, 70, 1911, p. 106-145, at p. 145 and Louis HOLTZ, « Les manuscrits latins à gloses et à commentaires de l'Antiquité tardive à l'époque carolingienne », in Cesare QUESTA, Renato RAFFAELLI (ed.), *'Il libro e il testo': Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Urbino, 1984, p. 139-167, at p. 161-162. For discussion of the Insular compiler, see also Brent MILES, *Heroic saga and classical epic in medieval Ireland*, Cambridge, 2011 (*Studies in Celtic History*, 30), p. 25-28.

<sup>25</sup> The Vatican manuscript contains an expanded version of Servius's commentary copied on fols. 85-123, the origin of which is unclear. Silvia OTTAVIANO, « Il Reg. lat. 1669: un'edizione di Virgilio d'età carolingia », *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 16, Rome, 2009, p. 259-324, at p. 288 gives Rheims as its provenance. See also B. MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins*, p. 779-780; John J. SAVAGE, « The manuscripts of Servius's commentary on Virgil », *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 45, 1934, p. 157-204, at p. 177-178. For the additions in the Vatican manuscript, see Gino FUNAIOLI, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica: Prolegomeni alla edizione del commento di Giunio Filargirio e di Tito Gallo*, Milan, 1930, p. 405-411; Stefano POLETTI, « La tradizione delle interpolazioni a Servio tipiche del Reg. lat. 1495 », in Fabio STOK (ed.), *'Totus scientia plenus': Percorsi dell'esegesi Virgiliana antica*, Pisa, 2013, p. 257-292. S. OTTAVIANO, « Il Reg. lat. 1669 », p. 288-293, demonstrates that some of the Vatican additions were used by one of the correctors in the ninth-century Rheims manuscript: Reg. lat. 1669. The additions, moreover, appear in another manuscript which has been linked to Rheims: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7928 (saec. IX<sup>ex</sup> or IX/X, northeast France, near Rheims?). See also B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 3, Nr. 4515, p. 136.

<sup>26</sup> For *D* scholia: *ADVENA NOSTRI uel Arrius uel Claudius* (*Eclogue* 9, 2, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 14v25; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 109, 9; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 827); *FORMA INSIGNIS...insignis forma, id est decore formae* (*Aeneid* 5, 295, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 110r8; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 1: 618, 22). For *DS* scholia: *MANTVA...CREMONAE Ingemuit Mantuanorum infelicitatem, quibus sola obfuit uicinitas Cremonensium. Nam cum non sufficerent agri Cremonensium additi sunt agri Mantuanorum* (*Eclogue* 9, 28, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 15r22; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 113, 11-19).

Polixinam Priami filiam, quam uiuus adamauit, quaesiuit. Post qua adeunda in ciuitate occisus est itaque nuptiali habitu iuxta tumulum eius occisa est et sepulta secum in uno sepulcro <sup>27</sup>	<i>consultus Calchas cecinit, <b>Polyxenam Priami filiam, quam uiuus</b> Achilles dilexerat, eius debere manibus immolari; quae cum admota tumulo Achillis occidenda esset, manu Pyrrhi aequanimiter mortem dicitur suscepisse<sup>28</sup></i>
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Interestingly, the Montpellier Vergil transmits many glosses that bear a close resemblance to the additions to Servius as occur in Ms. Reg. lat. 1495 mentioned above.<sup>29</sup> For instance, in the following comments, in which the words of Vergil are re-arranged, there are striking similarities between the Montpellier and Vatican manuscripts:

1) TALIS AMOR DAPHNIM...Talis amor teneat Daphnim, qualis tenet buculam cum procumbit illa bucula in uiridi ulua iuxta riuum aquae fessa ipsa bucula querendo iuuencum per nemora et per altos lucos, nec meminit decedere serae nocti perdita ipsa (*Eclogue* 8, 85-89, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 14r29)

TALIS AMOR TENEAT ...Talis amor mei teneat Daphnim, qualis amor tenet buculam confessa (*lege* cum fessa) quaerendo iuuencum per nemora atque altos lucos procumbit iuxta riuum aquae in herba uiridi nec meminit decedere superuiente nocti appetendo concubitum tauri et amore insaniens (Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, fol. 10r1-4)<sup>30</sup>

2) AVDIERAS - COLVMBAS Sed ta<n>tum ualent, O Licida, nostra carmina, id est mea inter Marcia tela, quantum solent ualere Chaonias columbas ueniente aquila (*Eclogue* 9, 11-13, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 15r5-7)

CHAONIAS DICVNT A.V.C. id est quantum dicunt ualere Chaonias columbas ueniente aquila (Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, fol. 109v17-18)<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, identical information surfaces in both the Montpellier and Vatican manuscripts, as illustrated by the annotation on Mount Parnassus and the Pindus mountains:

PARNASI...PINDI Parnasus et Pindus montes sunt Thesaliae Apollini et musis consecrati (*Eclogue* 10, 11; Ms. Montpellier, fol. 16r13)

NEQVE PARNASI...PINDI Parnasus et Pindus montes sunt Thessaliae sunt Apollini et musis consecrati (Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, fol. 111v6-7)<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> A similar gloss is found in the fragmentary St. Emmeram Virgil manuscript now in Ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29216(8, fol. 4r17 (a portion of the marginal gloss is missing as the page has been trimmed and some sections are illegible but the gloss is clearly very close to the gloss in the Montpellier manuscript): *O FELIX VNA ANTE ALIAS PRIAMEIA VIRGO Achillis umbra...sepulchro suo exsiliuit et praedae partem, Polixinam Priami filiam, quam uiuus...quaesiuit. Itaque habitu nuptiali apud tumulum eius occisa...*

<sup>28</sup> G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 1: 398, 2-8. Following convention, I italicise the supplementary materials in « Servius Danielinus ».

<sup>29</sup> For example, see the following note, also found in the « D » material in the expanded Servius: *VIAM rationem* (*Georgics* 1, 122, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 19v5; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 161, 25). The addition in Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, fol. 117r1 is as follows: *VIAM rationem et artem colendi* (see the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 161, 25).

<sup>30</sup> See the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 106, 27. The material in the first gloss is not attested in Servius, Servius Danielinus, the so-called Bern scholia, Ps-Probus or the *Scholia Veronensia*.

<sup>31</sup> See the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 110, 30. The addition does not appear in Servius, Servius Danielinus, the Bern scholia, Pseudo-Probus or *Scholia Veronensia*.

<sup>32</sup> For the addition in Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, see the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 120, 17.

By contrast, « Servius Danielinus » and the so-called Bern scholia provide various locations for these mountain ranges.<sup>33</sup> On some occasions the same comments appear in the Montpellier Vergil, in Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, and in other annotated Vergil manuscripts, for example in the heavily glossed manuscript: Ms. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 165 (saec. IX<sup>2/4</sup>, Tours, Saint-Martin).<sup>34</sup> As in the case of the glosses discussed above, the information in Servius and « Servius auctus » is different.<sup>35</sup>

1) ALCIDAE id est <H>erculi patronomicum (*Eclogue* 7, 61, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 12v24)  
ALCIDAE Alcides Herculis patronomicum a matre (Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, fol. 106v13)<sup>36</sup>  
ALCIDAE Alcidae autem patronomicum est a matre (Ms. Bern 165, fol. 11v26)<sup>37</sup>

2) RVSCO genus fruticis uel aspera herba uel cortex arboris asper (*Eclogue* 7, 42, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 12v5)  
RVSCO cortice arboris aspero (Ms. Reg. lat. 1495, fol. 106r27)<sup>38</sup>  
RVSCO ruscus est fruticis genus, spinosum amaro cortice (Ms. Bern 165, fol. 11v7)<sup>39</sup>  
RVSCVS fruticis genus, spinosum uel, ut alii, herbae asperae (*Liber Glossarum*)<sup>40</sup>

The Montpellier Vergil, then, reflects the range of additional details that accompanied Servius in early medieval Vergil manuscripts.

#### *Known non-Servian comments*

An important collection of non-Servian notes in early medieval Vergil manuscripts, including the Montpellier Vergil, is the so-called Bern scholia.<sup>41</sup> The Bern scholia comprise a non-homogeneous but related collection of comments on Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* that derives its name from two manuscripts now housed in Bern.<sup>42</sup> The scholia in the Bern manuscripts are closely related to two other commentaries, the *Explanationes in Bucolica*

<sup>33</sup> PARNASI...PINDI Parnasus mons Boeotiae, Pindus Thessaliae: ambo Apollini et musis consecrati (DS: Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 120, 17-18); PARNASSI IVGA id est proprium montis Boeotiae. PINDI id est Pindus mons in Thessalia uel in Thracia (Bern scholia: Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 178, 13-16); PARNASSI id est mons Thessaliae. PINDI id est Thraciae mons (Bern scholia: Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 178, 13-14); PARNASI mons Thessaliae. PINDI Pindus mons Thessaliae (Bern scholia: Hagen, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 833).

<sup>34</sup> For Ms. Bern 165, see John J. SAVAGE, « The scholia in the Virgil of Tours, Bernensis 165 », *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 36, 1925, p. 91-164 and Martin HELLMANN, *Tironische Noten in der Karolingerzeit am Beispiel eines Persius-Kommentars aus der Schule von Tours*, Hanover, 2000, p. 223.

<sup>35</sup> For the explanations in Servius and in the expanded Servius, see G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 89, 7-8 and 91, 1-9.

<sup>36</sup> See the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 91, 1.

<sup>37</sup> See J. SAVAGE, « The scholia in the Virgil of Tours », p. 114.

<sup>38</sup> See the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 89, 7.

<sup>39</sup> J. SAVAGE, « The scholia in the Virgil of Tours », p. 113.

<sup>40</sup> *Liber glossarum*, RV 207, in *Glossaria Latina*, vol. 1, 503.

<sup>41</sup> Confusion surrounds the Bern scholia and is underscored in the first instance by the different titles ascribed to the collection. Gino Funaioli referred to the comments collectively as the « silloge Filargiriana » after a major source, the late antique commentator Philargyrius, identified in the colophons of the Bern scholia. G. FUNAIOLI, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica*, p. 60. Hermann Hagen, editing the notes from the two Bern manuscripts, used the term *Scholia Bernensia*. Brent Miles, *Heroic saga*, p. 32, focussing on Vergilian studies in early medieval Ireland, spoke of the « Irish Filargirian collection ». For convenience, I refer to the collection as the Bern scholia, recognising the diversity within the corpus.

<sup>42</sup> Mss Bern, Burgerbibliothek 167 and 172. There is evidence that the original collection may also have had scholia on the *Aeneid*, as suggested by Paul Lehmann's study of an Orosius commentary. See Paul LEHMANN, « Reste und Spuren antiker Gelehrsamkeit in mittelalterlichen Texten », in Paul LEHMANN (ed.), *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, 5 vols., Stuttgart, 1959-1961, vol. 2, p. 29-37. For an overview of the Bern scholia, see Sinéad O'SULLIVAN, « The Bern Scholia on Vergil », in Justin STOVER (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to the Transmission of the Latin Classics*, Oxford, forthcoming.



*Vergilii* of Iunius Philargyrius (extant in two recensions) and the *Brevis Expositio* on the first and part of the second book of the *Georgics*.<sup>43</sup> The collection bears the hallmark of ancient and medieval commentators.<sup>44</sup> The Montpellier Vergil attests to the influence of the Bern scholia.<sup>45</sup> For example, in its glosses we sometimes discover that the closest textual affinity is with the *Explanationes*.<sup>46</sup> Overlap with the *Brevis expositio* is also evident.<sup>47</sup> Very often, however, the same information is carried by Servius and the *Brevis expositio*, as in a marginal annotation on the prologue to the *Georgics*.<sup>48</sup> Quite a number of annotations in the Montpellier Vergil confirm the influence of the Bern scholia, as in the following comment for which there are no analogues in Servius, the commentary of Ps.-Probus or the *Scholia Veronensia*:

HEROAS Heroas uocabantur dii ex hominibus facti (*Eclogue* 4, 16, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 8r22)  
PERMIXTOS HEROAS quos dicebant deos de hominibus fieri (Bern scholia)<sup>49</sup>

Noteworthy is the fact that often the annotations excerpted from the Bern scholia in the Montpellier Vergil occur in other manuscripts, including those affiliated with the Montpellier codex, as in the following example:

<sup>43</sup> For example, the colophon to the *Explanatio in Bucolica Vergilii* is closely related to the colophon in the Bern scholia, which appears after the comments on the *Eclogues*. For discussion of the collection, see D. DAINTREE, « Virgil and Virgil scholia in early medieval Ireland », p. 347-361; D. DAINTREE & M. GEYMONAT, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 708-709 and 711-717.

<sup>44</sup> Luca CADILI, « Scholia and authorial identity: The *Scholia Bernensia* on Vergil's *Georgics* as *Servius auctus* » in Sergio CASALI and Fabio STOK (ed.), *Servio: stratificazioni esegetiche e modelli culturali. Servius: Exegetical stratifications and cultural models*, Brussels, 2008 (Collection Latomus, 317), p. 197-198, demonstrates that the Servian copy used by the Bern compiler was very ancient and preserved a number of *lectiones potiores*.

<sup>45</sup> For example, Ottaviano has noted the appearance in the opening folios, dated to the tenth/eleventh centuries, of the *Argumentum* to the first *Eclogue* from the Bern scholia. See Silvia OTTAVIANO, « Reading between the lines of Virgil's early medieval manuscripts », in Mariken TEEUWEN, Irene VAN RENSWOUDE (ed.), *The annotated book in the early Middle Ages: practices of reading and writing*, Turnhout, 2018 (*Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 37), for transcriptions of the *Argumentum* in early medieval glossed Vergil manuscripts, including the Montpellier Vergil.

<sup>46</sup> This is the case in the following gloss: *INCIPE, PARVE PVER...MATREM Dicuntur infantes post quadragensimum diem matribus arridere agnoscere, si uero ante quadragensimum diem, indicium mortis est* (*Eclogue* 4, 60, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 8v33; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 87, 15-20. Similar material also appears in H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 782).

<sup>47</sup> For example, *FISCINA fiscella* (*Georgics* 1, 266, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 22r3; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 248, 8).

<sup>48</sup> *Male quidam Georgicorum duos tantum esse asserunt libros, dicentes georgica esse, id est terrae operam, quam primi duo continent libri - nescientes tertium et quartum, licet Georgicam non habeant, tamen ad utilitatem rusticam pertinere. Nam et pecora et apes habere studii est rustici. Licet possimus agriculturam etiam in his duobus sequentibus inuenire et in ortis colendis et in apibus educandis non minorem constat inpendi laborem* (*Georgics*, Prooemium, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 17r). For the material in Servius, see G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 129, 1-9; for the *Brevis expositio*, see G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 194, 12-195, 1. The same information is also found in the more extensive set of notes that Funaioli labelled as recension *b*. For these, see H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 840; Luca CADILI et al. (ed.), *Scholia Bernensia in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica. Vol II. Fasc. I: In Georgica Commentarii (Prooemium/Liber I 1-42)*, Amsterdam, 2003, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup> H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 778. A note in the expanded Servius on *Eclogue* 4, 35 bears some resemblance: *HEROAS Heroas quidam a terra dictos uolunt...unde initio nati creduntur homines* (G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 50, 12-14).

NIVEI Quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant; LACTIS ABVNDANS ingenii sui ostendit habundantiam (*Eclogue* 2, 20, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 5v5; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 35, 22-26; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 759)<sup>50</sup>

NIVEI Quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant uel quia ingeni sui abundantiam ostendit (Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 1v20); quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant uel quia ingenii sui sapientiam habundantiam ostendit (Ms. Paris, lat. 7925, fol. 3r20); quia antiqui lanam albam diligebant; ostendit abundantiam ingenii sui (Ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 7926, fol.3vb1-2); ingenii sui ostendit abundantiam (Ms. Valenciennes 407, fol. 4r3).

In addition to the Bern scholia, the glosses in the Montpellier Vergil draw upon the *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, a « line-by-line commentary on the *Aeneid* » that enjoyed, as Jan Ziolkowski observes, a « modest success during the Carolingian era ».<sup>51</sup> Not to be mistaken for the lost commentary of Aelius Donatus, excerpts from Tiberius Claudius Donatus's late antique prose paraphrase of the twelve books of the *Aeneid* appear in the Montpellier Vergil and similar comments occur in two other glossed Vergil manuscripts emanating from the same region, one roughly contemporary manuscript (Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 2. 8) and another an eleventh-century manuscript (Ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1670). The presence of Donatian excerpts in the Montpellier, Oxford and Vatican manuscripts coheres with other known links between these three codices and with the appearance of excerpts from Donatus's *Interpretationes* in other glossed Vergil manuscripts.<sup>52</sup> In the following gloss in the Montpellier Vergil, which excerpts from Donatus's *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e to comment

<sup>50</sup> Other examples are: *HIBISCO genus uirgulti molle uel uirga, qua pastores flagellant pecora* (*Eclogue* 2, 30, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 5v15, G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 38, 3-8; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 760). The same material appears elsewhere: *HIBISCO genus uirgulti mollis uel uirga* (Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 2r1); *HIBISCVM herba mollis*; *HIBISCO genus uirgulti quod pastores pro flagello utuntur* (*Liber glossarum*, IB 19-22, in *Glossaria Latina*, vol. 1, p. 287); *AESTVS Nam estu solis lac consummitur, nisi mulsum fuerit* (*Eclogue* 3, 98, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 7v25; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 67, 21-23; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 773). The same material appears in other manuscripts: *AESTVS aestu solis lac consumitur nisi mulsum fuerit* (Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 4v2); *AESTVS nam calore solis lac consumitur nisi mulsum fuerit* (Ms. Paris, lat. 7926, fol. 6rb14); *PATRIIS VIRTVTIBVS Quia Iulius Cesar orbem terrarum pacasse uidetur, qui Augustum, filium sororis, heredem Imperatoremque reliquit* (*Eclogue* 4, 17, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 8r23; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 79, 19-23; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 778). The same material appears in the Oxford manuscript: *PATRIIS VIRTVTIBVS quia Iulius Caesar orbem terrarum pacasse uidetur, qui Augustum filium sororis suae, heredem Imperatoremque reliquit* (Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 5r4).

<sup>51</sup> Jan M. ZIOLKOWSKI & Michael C.J. PUTNAM (ed.), *The Virgilian tradition: the first fifteen hundred years*, New Haven, 2008, p. 625, 644-649. See also Rita COPELAND & Ineke SLUITER, « Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergiliana*e, ca. 400 », in Rita COPELAND, Ineke SLUITER (ed.), *Medieval grammar and rhetoric. Language arts and literary theory, AD. 300-1475*, Oxford, 2009, p. 143-147. For the importance of the commentary within ancient Vergilian exegesis, see Daniel VALLAT, « Le commentaire de Tibère. Claude Donat au chant 1 de l'Énéide, sa place dans les débats virgiliens et ses relations avec Servius », *Eruditio Antiqua*, 1, 2009, p. 155-184. Interestingly, Lupus of Ferrières worked on a manuscript with the commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, now in Ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1484. See ZIOLKOWSKI & PUTNAM, *The Virgilian tradition*, p. 644.

<sup>52</sup> See S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 311; S. O'SULLIVAN, « Glossing Vergil and pagan learning », p. 140-141. Luigi Pirovano demonstrates that two glossed Vergil manuscripts, namely Mss. Bern 165 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 1570, transmit material from Donatus's commentary which descends independently from a common autograph. See Luigi PIROVANO, « Glosse di Tiberio Claudio Donato nel *Virgilio di Tours*. Problemi et prospettive (I) », *Voces*, 21, 2010, p. 163-208; idem, « Glosse di Tiberio Claudio Donato nel *Virgilio di Tours*. Problemi et prospettive (II) », in Concetta LONGOBARDI, Christian NICOLAS, Marisa SQUILLANTE (ed.), *Scholae discimus: Pratiques scolaires dans l'Antiquité tardive et le Haut Moyen Âge*, Lyons, 2014, p. 115-130.

on the blessed souls in the underworld, the same information is found in the Oxford and Vatican manuscripts:

FELICES quae post depositam uitam talibus locis et diuitiis utebantur (*Aeneid* 6, 669; Ms. Montpellier, fol. 131v31)<sup>53</sup>  
FELICES quae post depositam uitam talibus locis et deliciis uterentur (Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 133r6)  
FELICES id est que post depositam uitam talibus locis et deliciis uterentur (Ms. Reg. lat. 1670, fol. 104r19)<sup>54</sup>

Similarly, in an annotation on book 11 of the *Aeneid*, a glossator draws on Donatus and identical material is present in the Oxford and Vatican manuscripts:

VIOLAVIMVS AGROS Non solam ciuitatem uult sacratam fuisse, sed omnes agros ad eam pertinentes (*Aeneid* 11, 255, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 193v15)<sup>55</sup>  
VIOLAVIMVS AGROS Non solam ciuitatem uult sacratam fuisse, sed omnes agros ad *eam* pertinentes (Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 199r11)<sup>56</sup>  
VIOLAVIMVS AGROS Non solum ciuitatem uult sacratam fuisse, sed omnes agros ad eam pertinentes (Ms. Reg. lat. 1670, fol. 155r7)

Sometimes, the Montpellier Vergil and not the Oxford manuscript carries a Donatian excerpt.<sup>57</sup> The Montpellier Vergil, then, can be included amongst the witnesses attesting to the reception of the *Interpretationes Vergilianae* in the Carolingian period. Additionally, it makes evident that the Bern scholia featured prominently in the early medieval appropriation of Vergil.

### Unknown glosses

The Montpellier Vergil transmits a large number of unknown glosses. These entries are not present in the known Vergilian commentaries, but are sometimes attested elsewhere in ninth- and tenth-century Vergil manuscripts.<sup>58</sup> Noteworthy are the unknown glosses on the *Aeneid* discovered by Ottaviano in the Montpellier Vergil and St. Emmeram manuscript, glosses that may be unique and even bear witness to a lost commentary on Vergil.<sup>59</sup> On the

<sup>53</sup> Heinrich GEORGII (ed.), *Tiberi Claudii Donati Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1905-1906, vol. 1, p. 594.

<sup>54</sup> H. BAKKER, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, p. 279.

<sup>55</sup> H. GEORGII, *Donati Interpretationes*, vol. 2, p. 448.

<sup>56</sup> The words in italics are in Tironian notes.

<sup>57</sup> *AVDITIS acceptis quae diximus, arbitrabamur (lege arbitrabamur) continuo eum postula (lege postulata) facturum* (*Aeneid* 11, 251; Ms. Montpellier, fol. 193v11). See H. GEORGII, *Donati Interpretationes*, vol. 2, p. 445.

<sup>58</sup> Near identical material is found in Ms. Montpellier, fol. 87r26 and Ms. Bern 165, fol. 86v4. For the gloss on Circe, see the apparatus in G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 1: 411. Different information on Circe is provided by Servius on *Aeneid* 3, 386.

<sup>59</sup> S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 307. With regards to the possible existence of a lost commentary on Vergil underpinning some of the unknown glosses in the Montpellier and St. Emmeram manuscripts, this is not an isolated phenomenon. There are other indications of lost commentaries on Vergil. Scholars, for instance, have discussed the possibility that the original collection of the Bern scholia may also have had notes on the *Aeneid*. See footnote 41. In addition, it has been observed that lost Vergilian commentaries and compilations must have streamed into other texts. For instance, from the work of Claudio Baschera on the *Scholia Veronensia*, it seems clear that an anthology of what he calls « the best ancient commentaries on Vergil » very likely fed into all kinds of works as evidenced by the fact that there is overlap between the Verona scholia, Servius Danielinus and « numerous texts and authors » (e.g. Festus, Nonius, Isidore and *Liber glossarum*). See Claudio BASCHERA, « Servius Danielinus and *Scholia Veronensia*: Clues to their relationship », in Sergio CASALI and Fabio STOK (ed.), *Servio: stratificazioni esegetiche e modelli culturali*.

basis of its annotations, Ottaviano places the Montpellier manuscript in two specific groups of closely-related manuscripts.<sup>60</sup> Often, the same run of glosses occurs in manuscripts within a specific group.<sup>61</sup> Below are examples of a number of unknown comments on the *Aeneid* that occur in the Montpellier and St. Emmeram manuscripts.<sup>62</sup> The first gloss refers to those who were engaged in treason; the second to those who have accepted bribes:

*Aeneid* 6, 612

MONTPELLIER H 253, FOL. 131R5	BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK-PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. LAT. FOL. 421, FOL. 10V5
QVIQVE ARMA SECVTI Quique arma secuti Casium et Brutum significat, qui Cesarem perimerunt. Aliter tyranni ut Silla et ceteri	QVIQVE ARMA SECVTI Tyranni ut Silla, Cinna, Marius, Catilena reliqua

*Aeneid* 6, 622

MONTPELLIER H 253, FOL. 131R15	BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK-PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. LAT. FOL. 421, FOL. 10V15
FIXIT LEGES Imposuit fixit leges precio atque refixit: hic Antonium tangit qui accepta mercede leges a Cesare institutos auertit et peiores refixit	FIXIT LEGES Antonium dicit qui accepta mercede leges a Cesare institutos euertit et peiores fecit pro utilitate eorum a quibus pecunias suscepit

In the next set of glosses, we find more than one unknown note annotating a word. The glosses focus on Phlegyas, who, having burnt the temple of Apollo, was sent to Tartarus as a warning not to spurn the gods. In the Montpellier Vergil there are three annotations on

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*Servius: Exegetical stratifications and cultural models*, Brussels, 2008 (Collection Latomus, 317), p. 207-215; Claudio BASCHERA, *Ipotesi d'una relazione tra il Servio Danielino e gli scolii veronesi a Virgilio*, Verona, 2000 (*Studi Filologici Veronesi*, 1).

<sup>60</sup> Ottaviano identifies the following groups: *fgx* [Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8 (*f*), Paris, lat. 7925 (*g*), Montpellier Vergil (*x*)] and *qx* [St. Emmeram manuscript (*q*), Montpellier Vergil]. See S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 307-311. I provide here some examples of unknown glosses that appear in *f* and *x* and indicate where the information is written in Tironian notes in the Oxford manuscript by use of underlining. I also provide examples of unknown glosses in *f*, *x* and *g*: i) *PAPAVERA CARPENS id est tantum illam summitatem* (Eclogue 2, 47; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 2r18; Ms. Montpellier, fol. 5v32); ii) *BACCARE Bacare de illo fructu hederæ, quia est perfectior in hederæ uel folia maiora* (Eclogue 7, 27; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 9r29); *BACCHARE de illo fructu hederæ, quod est perfectior in edera uel folia maiora* (Ms. Montpellier, fol. 12r20); iii) *PER IGNOTOS per ignotos quos ignorabant antea homines uel animalia* (Eclogue 6, 40; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 8r10); *PER IGNOTOS quos ignorabant antea homines uel animalia* (Ms. Montpellier, fol. 11r3); iv) *EXTREMVM...LABOREM Inuocatio numinis ut illum deæ adiuuassent, quia poetam Sicilicum imitatus est idcirco inuocat nympham de Sicilia* (Eclogue 10; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 13r20; Ms. Montpellier, fol. 16r3); v) *THESTYLIS concubina rustica femina uel femina Virgilii* (Eclogue 2, 10, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 5r27; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 1v10; Ms. Paris, lat. 7925, fol. 3r10); v) *MILLE MEAE SICVLIS id est mille sensus uel rationes habeo in mea scientia. Siculis ideo (ideo om. fg), quia Theocritum (Theocritum fg) poetam de Sicilia sequitur* (Eclogue 2, 21, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 5v6; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 1v21; Ms. Paris, lat. 7925, fol. 3r21).

<sup>61</sup> For example, the same glosses appear in the Montpellier Vergil and Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8 (for the group to which these manuscripts belong, see footnote 59): *PROPERES festines; OCCASVM serere; EXPECTATA desiderata* (Montpellier); *sperata uel desiderata* (Oxford); *ELVSIT decepit et fefellit* (Montpellier); *decepit uel fefellit* (Oxford); *CERTIS PARTIBVS certis partibus id est per quattuor tempora et duodecim menses propter istas uicissitudines colendæ terræ* (Georgics 1, 224-31; Ms. Montpellier H 253, fol. 21r18-25; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 18v).

<sup>62</sup> I am grateful to Silvia Ottaviano for sending me her transcriptions of some of the glosses on the *Aeneid* in the Montpellier Vergil and the St. Emmeram fragmentary manuscript. I have used her transcriptions to check my own. The glosses I list do not appear in the Oxford manuscript, where Servius is often the source used by the annotators.

Phlegyas: one from Servius and two unknown glosses. In the first example below, the note occurs in the Montpellier and St Emmeram manuscripts. In the second, the comment appears in the Montpellier Vergil and in Mss Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8 (f) and Reg. lat. 1670 (z):<sup>63</sup>

1) *Aeneid* 6, 618

MONTPELLIER H 253 FOL. 131R11	BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK-PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. LAT. FOL. 421, FOL. 10V11
INFELIX THESEVS FLEGYAS Infelix Teseus Flegias; Flegias Ixionis filius qui templum Apollinis incendisse dicitur; ob quam causam Tartaro inmissus est et dum poenis afficitur clamitat: « colenda, non temnenda esse numina deorum »	PHLEGIAS Phlegias Ixionis filius Perhibiae rex. Hic templum Apollinis incendit; ob id Tartaro inmissus est et dum poenis afficitur clamitat: « colenda, non temptanda sunt numina »

2) FLEGYAS Flegias (Phlegius f; Flegys z) rex Charodis (Carodis f) dolens natam suam ab Apolline stupratam, incendit templum eius. Deinde (ab Apolline...deinde *om.* z) ab Apolline (Appolline xz) demersus (dimersus z) est in tartarum miserrime clamans: « admonet numina deorum adoranda esse » (*Aeneid* 6, 622, Ms. Montpellier H 253, fol. 131r11; Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 132r13; Ms. Reg. lat. 1670, fol. 103v6)<sup>64</sup>

Another set of interesting glosses crop up on the legendary kings of Rome, who are referred to in book 6 of the *Aeneid* (e.g. Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius). These unidentified comments are present in the Montpellier Vergil as an independent commentary and in the St. Emmeram manuscript as glosses, as in the following note on Ancus Marcius, the legendary fourth king of Rome and descendant of Numa Pompilius:<sup>65</sup>

*Aeneid* 6, 815

MONTPELLIER H 253, FOL. 120VB1-5	BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK-PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, MS. LAT. FOL. 421, FOL. 11V18
ANCVS Ancus Marcus, Nummae Pampilii pronepos, post obitum Tulli Hostilii successit in regnum primusque tabelliarum nauium usum inuenit. Is nimiae arrogantiae fuit ut absque senatus consultu plurima talenta auri et argenti traderet	ANCVS Ancus Mancius, Nummae Pampilii pronepos, post obitum Tulli Hostilii successit in regnum primusque tabellarium nauium usum inuenit. Is nimiae arrogantiae fuit ut absque senatus consultu plurima talenta satellitibus suis traderet ut honorem suum semper non abfuerit

The first part of the comment recalls Eutropius's *Breviarium historiae Romanae* (1, 5), a summary of Roman history that circulated in the Carolingian world, and also Pseudo-Aurelius Victor's *De viris illustribus urbis Romae* (1, 5).<sup>66</sup> Another instance of overlap with Pseudo-Aurelius Victor was discovered by Ottaviano in a comment on Brutus, one of the first

<sup>63</sup> This annotation sits alongside another comment on Phlegyas, this time from Servius, written in a different hand. For the Servian comment on Phlegyas, see G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 2: 87, 11-17.

<sup>64</sup> See also the same gloss in Ms. Reg. lat. 1670 in H. BAKKER, *Totus quidem Vergilius*, p. 269.

<sup>65</sup> A Servian comment is found *ad locum* in Ms. Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8, fol. 135v7: G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 2: 114, 20-22.

<sup>66</sup> See Rosamond MCKITTERICK, « The audience for Latin historiography in the early Middle Ages: text transmission and manuscript dissemination », in Anton SCHARER, Georg SCHEIBELREITER (ed.), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Munich, 1994, p. 96-114, for a lively interest in Roman history and historiography in the Carolingian period.

consuls of Rome and leader of a revolt against the last king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus.<sup>67</sup> Such materials manifest a predilection for the Roman past and align with other entries in the Montpellier Vergil, for example with the extended passage on the *Origo Troianorum* highlighted by Ottaviano that furnishes a genealogy for Aeneas and outlines the Trojan origins of the Romans.<sup>68</sup>

### *Standard authorities*

To conclude this survey of the range of non-Servian notes in the Montpellier Vergil, it is worth remarking on the existence of information drawn from standard authorities such as Isidore, whose *Etymologiae* functioned as the « Grundbuch des ganzen Mittelalters ».<sup>69</sup> By way of example the following Isidorian comment that occurs in the Montpellier Vergil and also in Ms. Bern 165 may serve. In the latter, additional elements not in Isidore (*ferrati fustes*) are furnished, elements attested in the *Liber glossarum*:<sup>70</sup>

TRVDES Trudes sunt amites cum limato ferro, quas Greci apalustria (*lege* aplustria) dicunt (*Aeneid* 5, 208, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 108v11)

TRVDES Trudes sunt amites cum lunato ferro, id est ferrati fustes, quae Graece dicuntur aplustria (Ms. Bern 165, fol. 107v19)

Trudes amites sunt cum lunato ferro, quae Graeci aplustria dicunt (*Etymologiae* 18, 7, 3)

One place where Isidore regularly makes an appearance in early medieval Vergil manuscripts is in glosses on the five zones of the earth mentioned in *Georgics* 1, 233. Together with Macrobius and Bede, Isidore popularised the theory of the five zones in the medieval Latin West.<sup>71</sup> In the Montpellier Vergil, Isidore lies behind a marginal comment, caption and diagram on the climatic regions.<sup>72</sup> The Isidorian gloss goes hand-in-hand with a

<sup>67</sup> In her study of the gloss in the Montpellier Vergil and St. Emmeram fragmentary manuscript, Ottaviano not only outlines key differences with the Servian account, but also highlights a striking affinity in one section of the gloss with *De viris illustribus urbis Romae*: S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 243.

<sup>68</sup> See S. OTTAVIANO, « La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio tra IX e XI secolo », p. 303-304. To Ottaviano's list of manuscripts transmitting the *Origo Troianorum* we can also add a Wolfenbüttel manuscript. See S. O'SULLIVAN, « Glossing Vergil in the early medieval West: A case study of Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. Gud. lat. 70 », in Carmela RIZZO, Concetta GILIBERTO, Claudia DI SCIACCA, Elena ALCAMESI, Loredana TERESI (ed.), *Studies on late antique and medieval Germanic glossography and lexicography in honour of Patrizia Lendinara*, Pisa, forthcoming. For discussion of the interest in the Roman past amongst early medieval Vergil glossators see the following gloss outlining the pre-eminence of Rome above all other cities. The gloss is found in Ms. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Guelf. Gud. lat. 70 (saec. IX<sup>2/4</sup>, Lyons?), fol. 5ra22 and provides an astronomical analogy. The gloss is close to Servius: *SIC CANIBVS CATVLOS SIMILES SIC MATRIBVS HAEDOS N.S.P.C.M.S. Tangit astronomiam. Comparamus catulum canibus aut h<a>edum capri magnitudine non genere; sed tamen nulla ciuitas comparare (lege comparari) potest Romae, quia magnitudine et honore ac dignitate omnes antepellit* (*Eclogue* 1, 22; see G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 8, 5-15).

<sup>69</sup> Ernst R. CURTIUS, « Mittelalterliche Literaturtheorien », *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 62, 1942, p. 417-491, at p. 475.

<sup>70</sup> *Liber glossarum*, TR 499, in *Glossaria Latina*, vol. 1, p. 573.

<sup>71</sup> In her examination of the spatial depictions of the world, Loredana Teresi has noted that the concept of the five zones was popularised in the Middle Ages through the writings of Macrobius, Isidore and Bede. See Loredana TERESI, « Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman *Mappaemundi* », in Rolf H. BREMMER Jr, Kees DEKKER (ed.), *Foundations of learning: the transfer of encyclopaedic knowledge in the early Middle Ages*, Paris, Leuven, 2007 (*Mediaevalia Groningana New Series*, 9), p. 341-377; Loredana TERESI, « Migrating maps: the case of the 'three-dimensional' diagram for the *quinque circuli mundi* », in Rolf H. BREMMER Jr, Kees DEKKER (ed.), *Practice in learning: the transfer of encyclopaedic knowledge in the early Middle Ages*, Paris, Leuven, 2010 (*Mediaevalia Groningana New Series*, 16), p. 257-283.

<sup>72</sup> An excerpt from *Etymologiae* 3, 44, 2-4 discussing the zones occurs in a marginal gloss in the Montpellier Vergil on fol. 21r and in another Carolingian glossed Vergil manuscript: Ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1669, fol. 20v (saec. IX<sup>med</sup> or IX<sup>3/4</sup>, Rheims). See S. OTTAVIANO, « II Reg. lat.

schematic representation of the world, where the zones are depicted as arcs within a circle, that is, as climatic regions of habitable and uninhabitable lands. Similar data occurs in other manuscripts.<sup>73</sup>

Other authorities that shaped the non-Servian annotations in the Montpellier Vergil were Nonius and Festus Paulus.<sup>74</sup> In the case of the first annotation below, the gloss combines information from Servius and Nonius;<sup>75</sup> in the second, Festus Paulus lies behind the comment, though analogues are to be found in the Bern scholia, Isidore and the *Liber glossarum*:

- (1) ADOLE aut auge aut incende (*Eclogue* 8, 65, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 14r9)  
ADOLERE augere, honorare, propitiare. Et est verbum sacratum, ut macte, magis aucte (Nonius)<sup>76</sup>  
ADOLE incende (Thilo & Hagen, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 103, 5)  
(2) EXVVIAS uestes ab exsuyendo (*Eclogue* 8, 91, Ms. Montpellier, fol. 14v5)<sup>77</sup>

All in all, a variety of non-Servian materials ranging from excerpts from standard authorities and Vergilian commentaries to unknown glosses attested elsewhere underpin the annotations in the Montpellier Vergil. Significantly, such materials are not confined to Vergil manuscripts as is illustrated by the presence, at times, of similar content in early medieval miscellanies, glossaries, encyclopaedic and mythographic anthologies. In the second half of this paper I focus on the reach of the *scholia non serviana*. To illustrate this, I examine the specific links between particular non-Servian notes in the Montpellier Vergil and mythological lore in the Vatican Mythographers.

## Part 2: Wide reach of the « *scholia non serviana* » in the Montpellier Vergil

That some kind of connection exists between various non-Servian glosses in the Montpellier Vergil and materials in the so-called Vatican Mythographers is evidenced by close textual affinities; shared errors, variants, interpolations and unknown comments; use of identical sources and combinations of sources. An example is an unknown gloss in the Montpellier manuscript on *Georgics* 1, 502 on the Trojan king, Laomedon. The gloss discusses the unfilled promises made by Laomedon, the pestilence sent by Apollo and the rescue of Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon by Hercules. Textual overlap with a Servian

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1669 », p. 259-324. See also B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 3, Nr. 6795, p. 441, who locates the manuscript in Rheims in the middle or the third quarter of the ninth century.

<sup>73</sup> S. OTTAVIANO, « *Il Reg. lat. 1669* », p. 266, identified an identical map in Ms. Reg. lat. 1669 on fol. 21r and in Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7926, fol. 20v (saec. IX<sup>2/4</sup>, Auxerre, Fleury?). A description of the Paris manuscript is provided by B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 3, Nr. 4514, p. 136 and S. OTTAVIANO, *La tradizione delle opere di Virgilio*, p. 233-44. In the Vatican and Paris manuscripts, however, the zones are portrayed as parallel bands within a circle. The diagram in the Montpellier Vergil, moreover, incorrectly places *aequinotialis* second instead of third, the correct order for which is maintained in the Vatican and Paris manuscripts. Finally, sources such as Isidore's *De natura rerum* and Bede's *De natura rerum* are behind the following caption, copied in red, in the Montpellier Vergil: *zonae v id est septentrionalis, solstitialis, aequinotialis, brumalis, australis*. The same caption, also in red, appears in Ms. Paris, lat. 7926.

<sup>74</sup> J. SAVAGE, « The scholia in the Virgil of Tours », p. 91-164, lists Nonius and Festus Paulus as sources used by the early medieval annotators of the glossed Vergil manuscript: Ms. Bern 165.

<sup>75</sup> Similar information is also found in a gloss in Ms. Bern 165. See J. SAVAGE, « The scholia in the Virgil of Tours », p. 114-115; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 989.

<sup>76</sup> Wallace Martin LINDSAY (ed.), *Nonii Marcelli de compendiosa doctrina*, Leipzig, 1903 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), p. 373.

<sup>77</sup> Wallace Martin LINDSAY (ed.), *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 70; *Liber glossarum*, EX 1440 and EX 1443, in *Glossaria Latina*, vol. 1, p. 229; G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.2: 162, 15-163, 3; H. HAGEN, *Scholia Bernensia*, p. 825; Isidore, *Etymologiae* 18, 2, 8. Similar information is also found in Ms. Bern 165, fol. 13v7: *EXVVIAS id est uestes exuuiiae dicuntur ab exuendo*.

comment on Laomedon, a passage that expounds *Aeneid* 1, 550, is limited.<sup>78</sup> The unknown note on Laomedon in the Montpellier Vergil shows up in another ninth-century Vergil manuscript, Ms. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, lat. 407 (saec. IX<sup>2</sup>, northeast France), and in the First Vatican Mythographer:<sup>79</sup>

MONTPELLIER VERGIL, FOL. 26R3 (x); VALENCIENNES 407, FOL. 26V6 (h)	FIRST VATICAN MYTHOGRAPHER 2.34.1-7
LAOMEDONTEAE Laomedon rex fuit Troiae, <sup>80</sup> qui promissa mercede <sup>81</sup> et remuneratione rogauit Neptunum et Apollinem ut ei Troiam <sup>82</sup> edificarent, quam cum illi edificassent, mentitus est munera. <sup>83</sup> Vnde indignatus Apollo immisit eis pestilentiam super qua cum illum consuluissent, <sup>84</sup> contraria respondit. Omnes uidelicet nobilium filias caetui esse opponendas. <sup>85</sup> Contigit autem illuc Herculem aduenisse cui roganti Laomedon Esionem filiam suam promisit si eam a coetu posset liberare, <sup>86</sup> quam cum Hercules, interfecto cetu, iuxta promissum patris liberatam accipere uoluisset ille spreto periurio dare uoluit. Vnde iratus Hercules ciuitatem euertit et Esionem Telamoni socio suo dedit. Est autem sensus: causa inquit malorum quae nos patimur peccata et periuria parentum nostrorum sunt <sup>87</sup>	FABVLA LAOMEDONTIS ET HERCVLIS ET HESIONAE Laomedon rex fuit Troianorum, pater Priami, qui petiit Neptunum et Apollinem, ut aedificarent urbem Troiam, promissa mercede; quam cum ipsi aedificassent, mentitus est munera. Vnde indignatus Apollo pestilentiam eis inmisit, Neptunus cetum maximum. Super quibus dum consuleretur, Apollo respondit contraria dicens omnes filias eius ceto esse opponendas, qui totam ciuitatem deuastabat. Tunc superueniens Hercules, dum Colchos peteret, Hesionam filiam ipsius petiit in coniugio, quam ille ei promisit, si a ceto posset eam liberare. Hercules, interfecto ceto, coniugem sibi promissam petiit, sed ille mentitus est; unde indignatus Hercules Troiae muros destruxit et Hesionam cuidam socio suo Telamoni dedit. Ex qua natus est Teucer: nam Aiace ex alia constat esse natum <sup>88</sup>

The textual similarities between the above gloss and the Vatican Mythographers are striking and align with the research of Ottaviano, who notes conspicuous links between non-Servian exegetical materials in Vergil manuscripts and the Mythographers.<sup>89</sup> For instance,

<sup>78</sup> G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 1: 169, 1-10. The Servian comment on *Aeneid* 1, 550 is found in the Valenciennes manuscript on fol. 107r16. Only a very small number of phrases are close to those in the unknown comment in the Montpellier Vergil.

<sup>79</sup> The gloss is less legible in the Montpellier Vergil and so I give the version in the Valenciennes manuscript and highlight different readings in the Montpellier Vergil in the footnotes. The gloss in the Montpellier Vergil occurs at the bottom right hand side of the page.

<sup>80</sup> *rex Troiae fuit x*

<sup>81</sup> *mercatione x*

<sup>82</sup> *ciuitatem Troiam x*

<sup>83</sup> *quod cum illi fecissent, mentitus est quod promiserat x*

<sup>84</sup> *pestilentiam magnam de qua re cum ipse Apollo postea consuleretur x*

<sup>85</sup> *Vt scilicet omnes filiae nobilium coetibus opponerentur x*

<sup>86</sup> *Accidit autem tunc illuc uenisse Herculem cui promisit se filiam ipsius Laomedontis nomine Hesionem liberare a coetibus si ei daretur x*

<sup>87</sup> *At...interfecto coeto liberauit eam sed pater eius eam dare...Vnde iratus Hercules ciuitatem subuertit et Hesionem socio suo Telamoni dedit. Est autem sensus: causa inquit malorum quae patimur nos sunt peccata et periuria parentum nostrorum x*

<sup>88</sup> Nevio ZORZETTI (ed.), *Le premier mythographe du Vatican*, Paris, 1995, p. 77-78.

<sup>89</sup> For example, S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 227-237, demonstrates close affinities and textual coincidences between the augmented Servius, *scholia non serviana* and Mythographers. One such example is to be found in a gloss on *Aeneid* 1, 619 on the mythological figure Teucer. Though there are variations between the Teucer comment in the Montpellier and St. Emmeram manuscripts, the manuscripts transmit the same annotation which departs from Servius in significant ways (e.g. on the relationship between Teucer and Ajax).



she identifies shared errors and variants in an annotation on the mythological beast called the Chimaera in the Montpellier Vergil, St. Emmeram manuscript and the Mythographers.<sup>90</sup> To illustrate further the ties between various non-Servian glosses in the Montpellier Vergil and information in the Mythographer collections I examine in the remaining portion of this paper the presence in both of near-identical content drawn from the commentary on Statius's *Thebaid* ascribed to Lactantius Placidus.

Lactantius was an important source of mythography in the Montpellier Vergil and Vatican Mythographers. In the gloss below from the Montpellier manuscript outlining the connection between Venus and the dove we find a close match in the « Lactantian » commentary and in the Second Vatican Mythographer. The gloss discusses the flower picking contest between Venus and Cupid, in which Venus, aided by the nymph Peristera, wins a wager:

« LACTANTIUS » ON <i>THEBAID</i> 4, 226	MONTPELLIER H 253, FOL. 7R27-28, <i>Eclogue</i> 3, 68-69	SECOND VATICAN MYTHOGRAPHER
Quae autem causa sit ficta quod Venus columba delectata <sit>, talis est: quod Venus et Cupido, cum quodam tempore uoluptatis gratia in quosdam nitentes descendissent campos, lasciua contentione certare coeperunt qui plus sibi gemmantes colligeret flores. Quorum Cupido adiutus mobilitate <sup>91</sup> pennarum, quamquam naturam corporis uolatu superauit, uictus est <sup>92</sup> numero. Peristera enim Nympha subito accurrit et adiuuando Venerem superiorem effecit cum poena sua. Cupido siquidem indignatus mutauit puellam in auem quae a Graecis περιστερά appellatur. Sed poenam honor minuit. Venus namque, consolatura et innocentis transfigurationem,	PARTA MEAE VENERI...PALVMBES Quae causa sit ficta, quod Veneri columba delecta est talis, quod Venus et Cupido quodam tempore uoluptatis gratia in quosdam nitentes descendentes campos, lasciua contentione certare ceperunt, qui plus sibi gemmantes colligerent flores. Quorum Cupido adiutus nobilitate ( <i>lege</i> mobilitate) pennarum, postquam naturam corporis uolata ( <i>lege</i> uolatu) superauit, auctus est numero. Tunc Peristhen nimpha uidens Venerem impotem subito accurrit et adiuuando eam Venerem superare fecit. Tunc Cupido uidens sibi ablatam gloriae palmam indignatus mutauit puellam in auem, quae a Grecis peristera appellatur. Sed penam honor minuit. Venus namque consolatura et innocentis transfigurationem columbam in tutela sua esse mandauit	DE EIVS COLVMBIS Huius in tutelam aditiunt columbas, quia huius generis aues in coitu sunt feruide. Cur autem columbe in tutela Veneris sint, hec est fabula: Venus et Cupido cum quodam tempore uoluptatis gratia in quosdam descendissent campos nitentes, lasciua contentione certare ceperunt qui sibi plus gemmantes colligerent flores. Quorum Cupido adiutus mobilitate pennarum postquam naturam corporis uolatu superauit, uicit numero. Peristera enim subito accurrit et adiuuando Venerem superiorem fecit cum penna sua. Cupido siquidem indignatus mutauit puellam in auem columbam que a Grecis peristera uocatur. Sed penam honor minuit, Venus

Furthermore, there are analogues between the Teucer comment and the added material in the interpolated text of Servius's commentary on *Aeneid* 1, 619 and *Aeneid* 1, 622. What makes the correspondence even more interesting is that, as Ottaviano shows, very similar information is found in the First Vatican Mythographer. Indeed, the most recent editor of the First Vatican Mythographer, Nevio Zorzetti, maintained that the source for some of the material on Teucer came ultimately from an unknown comment which Ottaviano now identifies with the annotation in the Montpellier Vergil and St. Emmeram manuscripts.

<sup>90</sup> S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 237, highlights these errors and variants.

<sup>91</sup> Some manuscripts transmitting the « Lactantian » commentary have the variant *nobilitate*. See the *apparatus criticus* in R. SWEENEY (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida Commentum, Volumen I*, p. 264. For instance, the variant *nobilitate* appears before correction in Ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19482, fol. 68r.

<sup>92</sup> In Ms. Munich, Clm. 19482, the variant *auctus est* is provided by a corrector.

columbam in tutela sua esse mandauit. <sup>93</sup>		namque consolatura innocentis transfigurationem columbam in tutela sua esse commendauit <sup>94</sup>
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That a commentary on Statius, one of the major epic poets from the Flavian era who identified himself with Vergil, should underpin some of the glosses in the Montpellier Vergil is hardly a surprise.<sup>95</sup> Though much about Lactantius and his commentary remain uncertain,<sup>96</sup> it is clear that Statius was known in late antiquity and in the Carolingian age.<sup>97</sup> As for the late

<sup>93</sup> See R. SWEENEY (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida Commentum, Volumen I*, p. 264-265. This comment is transmitted as a marginal gloss in one of the oldest extant manuscripts transmitting the *Thebaid* with scholia from the commentary ascribed to Lactantius, that is, in the tenth-century manuscript, Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10317, fol. 41v17.

<sup>94</sup> P. KULCSÁR, *Mythographi Vaticani* 2, cap. 44.

<sup>95</sup> Statius presented himself « in line with Homer and Vergil ». For which, see Carole E. NEWLANDS, Kyle GERVAIS and William J. DOMINIK, « Reading Statius », in William J. DOMINIK, Carole E. NEWLANDS, Kyle GERVAIS (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Statius*, Leiden, 2015, p. 31-53, at p. 5; Ruth PARKES, « Reading Statius through a biographical lens », in W. DOMINIK et al. (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Statius*, p. 465-480, at p. 476.

<sup>96</sup> Gino Funaioli suggested Lactantius was an Italian. See Gino FUNAIOLI, « Da un codice di Valenciennes », *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 21, 1915, p. 63-64. More recently Étienne WOLFF, « Retour sur la datation et l'origine de Lactantius Placidus, commentateur de Stace », *Phoenix*, 64, No. 3/4, 2010, p. 423-429, has linked Lactantius with Africa. Whether Lactantius Placidus was even the author of the late antique commentary is unclear. For the date of composition of the « Lactantian » commentary, opinions range from the fourth to the sixth centuries. A. KLOTZ, « Die Statiusscholien », *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, 15, 1908, p. 485-525, argued for the sixth century. His arguments were refuted by P. VAN DE WOESTIJNE, « Le codex Valentinianus 394 de Lactantius Placidus », *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 19, 1940, p. 37-63, who upheld the traditional dating of the fourth century. See É. WOLFF « Retour », p. 425-428 for a summary of the debate and for her own suggestion of a fifth-century origin of the commentary. Rainer JAKOBI, « Textgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte: Der sogenannte Lactantius Placidus-Kommentar zur « Thebais » des Statius » in Wilhelm GEERLINGS and Christian SCHULZE (ed.), *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter: Neue Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung* 2, Leiden 2004, p. 3, also argues for the fourth century. Luca Cardinali situates him in the second half of the fifth or early sixth century. See Luca CARDINALI, « A proposito della cronologia e dell'origine di Lattanzio Placido: osservazioni sulla questione », in Concetta LONGOBARDI, Christian NICOLAS, Marisa SQUILLANTE (ed.), *Scholae discimus*, p. 287-304. As for the format, scholars suggest that the late antique commentary ascribed to Lactantius originated as a lemmatic commentary, was broken up into glosses and later reconstituted once again as a commentary by the Carolingian period. See Robert Dale SWEENEY, *Prolegomena to an edition of the scholia to Statius*, Leiden, 1969 (*Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava*, 8), p. 84 and Rita COPELAND, « Gloss and commentary », in Ralph J. HEXTER, David TOWNSEND (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of medieval Latin literature*, Oxford, 2012, p. 171-191, at p. 180. For a summary of the problems surrounding authorship and composition of the commentary, see Helen KAUFMANN, « *Papinius Noster*: Statius in Roman Late Antiquity », in William J. DOMINIK, Carole E. NEWLANDS, Kyle GERVAIS (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Statius*, Leiden, 2015, p. 491-494.

<sup>97</sup> H. KAUFMANN, « *Papinius Noster* », p. 481-496, demonstrates that Statius's works greatly influenced the Latin poetry of late antiquity. She dates the reception of Statius to the second half of the fourth and first half of the fifth century. Interesting is the influence of Statius on writers such as Prudentius, a writer with profound influence through the Middle Ages and one who engaged Carolingian readers and glossators. For the reception of Prudentius, see Sinéad O'SULLIVAN, *Early medieval glosses on Prudentius' "Psychomachia": The Weitz tradition*, Leiden, 2004 (*Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte*, 31). Statius is included by Alcuin in his poem in praise of the library at York. See Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 199. Statius's *Thebaid* is also listed in the famous catalogue of books associated with the court library of Charlemagne. See Leighton D. REYNOLDS & Nigel Guy WILSON, *Scribes and scholars: A guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature*, Oxford, 1968; repr. 1974, p. 86. Carolingian copies, as David Ganz points out, are the « earliest witnesses for...the poems of Lucretius, Horace, Martial and Statius ». See David GANZ, « Book production in the Carolingian Empire and the spread of Caroline minuscule », in Rosamond MCKITTERICK et al. (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history, vol 2: c. 700-c. 900*, Cambridge, 2008, p. 801. Paulina TARASKIN, « Reading Horace's lyric: a tenth-century annotated manuscript in the British Library (Harley 2724) », unpubl. PhD dissertation, London, 2013, p. 219, footnote 1, observes that amongst the extant

antique commentary on Statius's *Thebaid* ascribed to Lactantius Placidus, it seems to have been an important source of mythological information for early medieval compilers. That it was employed as such is highlighted by Olivier Szerwiniack's study of early medieval *glossae collectae* on Orosius and by Paulina Taraskin's examination of Horace scholia.<sup>98</sup> Scholars have deemed it highly probable that the « Lactantian » commentary as it has come down to us comprises both older and newer layers. Although untangling these incurs many challenges, scholars have identified what appear to be older strata.<sup>99</sup> The earliest witnesses transmitting the commentary originated in northern France and Germany in the tenth and eleventh centuries, that is, in areas where we witness the circulation of Vergil glosses; in these manuscripts the commentary was copied both as scholia and as an independent running lemmatic commentary.<sup>100</sup> Gino Funaioli's discovery of the « Lactantian » commentary in Ms. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 394 led scholars to maintain that the oldest witness was ninth century.<sup>101</sup> However, the portion of the Valenciennes manuscript transmitting the *Thebaid* commentary has subsequently been dated by Bischoff to the tenth/eleventh centuries.<sup>102</sup> As for the archetype, according to Robert Sweeney, all extant manuscripts transmitting the « Lactantian » commentary derive, either directly or through intermediaries, from a single lost Carolingian archetype for which he hypothesises an eighth-century origin.<sup>103</sup>

The « Lactantian » commentary was evidently an important source of fictitious tales for some of the non-Servian glosses in the Montpellier Vergil. Moreover, similar and often near identical knowledge is present in the Vatican Mythographers. These observations align with the findings of Ottaviano, Szerwiniack and Taraskin who, examining annotations on Vergil, Orosius and Horace respectively, note the existence of Lactantian content in glosses and in the Vatican Mythographers.<sup>104</sup> Various early medieval gloss traditions, then, transmit *Thebaid* commentary. Taraskin demonstrates that the « Lactantian » commentary was a direct

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manuscripts dating from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, the *Thebaid* circulated in manuscripts, one of which was written at the court, and a number of which emanated from southern Germany. Birger MUNK OLSEN, «La reception de Stace au moyen âge (du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle) », in Andreas BIHRER and Elisabeth STEIN (ed.), *Nova de veteribus: Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, Munich and Leipzig, 2004, p. 230-46, at p. 31, underscores the number of manuscripts or fragments transmitting the *Thebaid* between the ninth and twelfth centuries, ranking Statius fifth amongst the classical poets after Vergil, Lucan, Horace and Juvenal.

<sup>98</sup> For the influence of the late antique commentary of Lactantius, see the *glossae collectae* on the first two books of Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* in a ninth-century Vatican manuscript elucidated by Olivier SZERWINIACK, « Un commentaire hiberno-latin des deux premiers livres d'Orose, *Histoires contre les païens* », *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin du Cange)*, 65, 2007, p. 165-207 at p. 168. For an introduction to the *Thebaid* scholia, see P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 219-220. For an example of an unusual feature shared by a Horace gloss and the *Thebaid* commentary, see P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 227-228.

<sup>99</sup> R. JAKOBI, « Textgeschichte », p. 4-6 notes aspects of the commentary such as the *clausulae* that point towards an older stratum. H. KAUFMANN, « *Papinius noster* », p. 492, observes that scholars have attempted to delineate different chronological layers in the commentary.

<sup>100</sup> The oldest extant manuscripts of the commentary date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. See R. SWEENEY, *Prolegomena*, p. 8-34 for manuscripts dating to the tenth- and eleventh-centuries which transmit the *Thebaid* commentary and also Paul M. CLOGAN, « The manuscripts of Lactantius Placidus' commentary on the *Thebaid* », *Scriptorium*, 22, 1968, p. 87-91; P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 219, footnote 3, lists the German manuscripts associated with places such as Tegernsee and Freising.

<sup>101</sup> R. SWEENEY, *Prolegomena*, p. 17; P. CLOGAN, « The manuscripts of Lactantius Placidus' commentary », p. 88; B. MUNK OLSEN, «La reception de Stace », p. 235.

<sup>102</sup> B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* 3, Nr. 6388, p. 399.

<sup>103</sup> R. SWEENEY, (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida Commentum, Volumen I*, p. vii-xxxvii and lvi. See Donald E. Hill's review article on *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida Commentum*, in *The Classical Review*, New Series, 50, No. 1 (2000), p. 57-59. Hill astutely notes that those manuscripts which do not derive directly from the archetype but through intermediaries may have had independent access to materials in the archetype.

<sup>104</sup> See S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 235-237.

source for scholia in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century glossed Horace manuscript and establishes that the mythological glosses were originally composed to elucidate Statius's *Thebaid*.<sup>105</sup> The ultimate source of the Lactantian information was the *Fabulae* ascribed to Hyginus, whose identity as an Augustan fabulator has been contested.<sup>106</sup> The work attributed to Hyginus, as Taraskin demonstrates, was received by a Horace scholiast « in the form mediated by the *Thebaid* commentator ». <sup>107</sup> She foregrounds the appearance in the Horace scholia of Hyginian elements. These elements, however, sometimes contain distinctive features and new information not in Hyginus but present in the « Lactantian » commentary and in the Horace glosses. Taraskin further observes that, on occasion, several Lactantian passages were carefully selected to explain a particular section in Horace's *Odes*.<sup>108</sup> She thus concludes that the *Thebaid* commentary was a key source of myth « second in importance only to Servius ». <sup>109</sup> Cumulatively, the evidence strongly indicates that Lactantian content fed into early medieval gloss traditions. That they occur in the Montpellier Vergil, then, coheres with the evidence of other early medieval gloss corpora. Of course, there is always the possibility, given that the manuscript evidence for the « Lactantian » commentary is relatively late and that the work encapsulates « different chronological layers », that information flowed from early medieval glosses into the commentary ascribed to Lactantius. However, as we have already seen, in the case of Horace glosses the direction of influence was from the « Lactantian » commentary into scholia. Indeed, one gloss on Horace, which Taraskin shows to have been composed to annotate Statius, appears in the Montpellier Vergil.<sup>110</sup>

With regards to the shared Lactantian elements in the Montpellier Vergil and Vatican Mythographers, the question still remains whether it came directly into the Mythographers from the commentary ascribed to Lactantius or indirectly through Vergil glosses, other glosses, or a common intermediary. The question of transmission is complicated by what is known about the Mythographer collections. Traditional dating situates these anonymous mythographical texts in the late antique period, but this dating has been challenged by the most recent editor who places both compilations between 875 and 1075, seeing the Second

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<sup>105</sup> See P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 223, for a gloss furnishing information on the Centaurs and Lapiths. The gloss tells about the wedding of the Lapith king Pirithous to Hippodamia, together with the story of Hercules who rescued Deianira from a marriage to the centaur Eurytion. She shows that the gloss, commenting on *Thebaid* 5, 261-264, was written to annotate Statius. In the Horace manuscript, moreover, the information in Lactantius is inverted. A similar gloss, also drawing on Lactantius, appears in the Montpellier Vergil where the original form of the *Thebaid* note is preserved: *CENTAVROS...LAPITHIS Centauri Ixionis et nubis filii, cum in nuptiis Pirithoi ebrietate caluissent et uellent puellae nubentis irrumpere thalamum, a Lapithis, quorum rex Pir<i>thous fuit, interempti sunt. Aliter fabulam Herculis tangit. Qui cum in hospitio ad <D>examini regem uenisset, Deianiram eius filiam corrumpit et fidem dedit se eam uxorem esse ducturum. Post eius discessum Euricion Ixionis filius Centaurus uxorem Deianiram petiit. Quam pater uim timens Euricioni promisit, qui constituto die cum fratribus ad nuptias uenit. Eo forte die quo nuptiae celebrabantur superueniens Alcides Centauros inter pocula super mensas interfecit, Deianiramque insperate suo matrimonio copulauit. Item aliter cum in matrimonium Pirithous Hippodamiam duceret, uino pleni centauri Lapitharum uxores conati sunt rapere. Qui omnes a Lapithis occisi sunt* (Ms. Montpellier H 253, fol. 33v29-30). See R. SWEENEY, *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida Commentum, Volumen I*, p. 354-355.

<sup>106</sup> Tim J. CORNELL (ed.), *The fragments of the Roman historians: Introduction*, vol. 1, Oxford, 2013, p. 475.

<sup>107</sup> P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 220.

<sup>108</sup> P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 230.

<sup>109</sup> For example, Taraskin documents new details added to the Hyginian elements in a Horace gloss on the myth of Danaus. The same details appear in the *Thebaid* commentary. She also observes the unique attribution of the name Penelope to Niobe's mother in a Horace gloss and in the *Thebaid* commentary. See P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 228-232 and 490. In Hyginus, Niobe's mother is given as Dione.

<sup>110</sup> See footnote 104.

Vatican fabulator as later than and drawing on the First.<sup>111</sup> The transmission of the collections is uncertain given that the earliest extant manuscript is a twelfth-century codex, which is our sole surviving copy of the First Vatican Mythographer. Like the commentary ascribed to Lactantius and many other commentaries that are tralatitious by nature, it may be the case that a late antique mythographic collection lay behind the Vatican Mythographers.<sup>112</sup>

Glosses on Horace and Orosius strongly suggest that common sources underpinned early medieval annotations and the Mythographers. Szerwiniack, for instance, comparing the *glossae collectae* on Orosius in a ninth-century Vatican manuscript with analogous information in the Mythographers and noting the influence of Lactantius, concludes that « il paraît vraisemblable que le *Mythographe* a eu pour ancêtre un recueil de *glossae collectae* du type de V ». <sup>113</sup> In this instance, it seems the Mythographers may have had at their disposal a collection of *glossae collectae* similar to the one in a Vatican manuscript. Interestingly, in her study of Horace glosses in a Harley manuscript Taraskin not only observes many parallels between the *Thebaid* commentary, Horace notes, and the Mythographers, but also demonstrates that the First Vatican Mythographer « does not stand between *Thebaid* and Harley scholia ». <sup>114</sup>

Notable parallels can be pinpointed between the Lactantian content in the Montpellier Vergil and the Vatican Mythographers. Such overlap suggests that amongst the sources drawn upon by the Mythographers were non-Servian notes or the sources underpinning such notes. It appears unlikely that the Montpellier manuscript was a direct source for the Mythographers as differences can be documented. <sup>115</sup> Remarkable similarities, however, abound. We have already observed that analogues exist between the « Lactantian » commentary, the Montpellier Vergil and Mythographers (see above the gloss on Venus and Cupid on p. 16). Another example of overlap is the occurrence of a shared interpolation in the final line of the following non-Servian gloss in the Montpellier Vergil (indicated in bold), which transmits information not in Lactantius and probably inspired by the work ascribed to Hyginus. A similar sentence appears in the Mythographers. The gloss elucidates the myth of Antiope and Dirce. Antiope, daughter of king Nycteus and mother of Amphion, was persecuted by Dirce, wife of Lycus. In revenge, Dirce was killed by Antiope's twin sons by being tied to the horns of a bull. The annotation shows parallels with Hyginus's *Fabulae*, but its closest textual affinity is with the commentary on the *Thebaid* ascribed to Lactantius and the First Vatican Mythographer: <sup>116</sup>

<sup>111</sup> N. ZORZETTI, *Le premier mythographe*, p. xi-xliv, argues that Remigius (ca. 841-908) was a source for the Vatican Mythographers. He also notes the influence of non-Servian commentaries on Vergil, for example, of the Bern scholia, and of the commentary ascribed to Lactantius Placidus.

<sup>112</sup> For commentaries as tralatitious, see James E.G. ZETZEL, *Marginal scholarship and textual deviance: The « commentum Cornuti » and the early scholia on Persius*, London, 2005 (BICS, Supplement, 84), p. 75.

<sup>113</sup> O. SZERWINIACK, « Un commentaire hiberno-latin », p. 169.

<sup>114</sup> P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 220, 230 and 490. She reaches similar conclusions for the Servian material in the Harley scholia, demonstrating that some variants are shared by the Harley notes and Mythographers but that there are nevertheless differences between the readings in the Harley notes and the Mythographers. See P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 191, footnote 2.

<sup>115</sup> For example, S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 235, demonstrates that in a gloss on the Chimaera, a mythological monster slain by the hero Bellerophon, there are both remarkable similarities and some clear differences between the gloss and the Vatican Mythographers. The gloss is transmitted in an expanded form in the St. Emmeram fragmentary manuscript and in a shortened version in the Montpellier Vergil, the latter coinciding with information in the *Liber glossarum*. See *Liber glossarum*, CI 149, in Wallace M. LINDSAY *et al.* (ed.), *Glossaria Latina iussu Academiae Britannicae edita*, vol. 1, Paris, 1926, p. 116. In the expanded form of the gloss which carries the story of Bellerophon, Ottaviano notes a clear dependence on « Servius Danielinus » on *Aeneid* 5, 118. The section on Bellerophon, however, in the Vatican Mythographers relies on the « Lactantian » commentary.

<sup>116</sup> See the following comments on Antiope in Peter K. MARSHALL (ed.), *Hygini Fabulae*, Leipzig, 2002 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), p. 19: *Antiope Nyctei filia ab Epapho per*

« LACTANTIUS » ON <i>THEBAID</i> 4, 570	MONTPELLIER H 253, FOL. 5V9 <i>Eclogue</i> 2, 24	FIRST VATICAN MYTHOGRAPHER 1.96.1-4
Antiopa, Nyctei regis filia, ab Epapho per dolum est stuprata, quae ob id a uiro Lyco est eiecta ui. qua pulsa Dircen duxit uxorem, cui suspicio incidit uirum suum clam cum Antiopa concubuisse. Itaque impetrauit a famulis, ut eam uinctam in tenebris clauderent. Cui cum partus instaret, Iouis uoluntate effugit uincula et in monte Cithaerone partum exposuit. natos Zethum et Amphionem proiecit. Hos pastor pro suis educauit, quos postea mater agnouit. iniurias eius exsecuti Lycum interfecerunt, Dircen tauro indomito religatam uita priuauerunt <sup>117</sup>	DIRCEVS Antiopa Nicthei regis filia, ab Epapho per dolum est stuprata, quae ob id a uiro Lico est eiecta. Qua pulsa Dircen duxit uxorem, cui suspicio incidit uirum suum clam cum Antiopha occubuisse; itaque impetrauit famulis, ut eam uinctam in tenebris clauderent. Cui cum partus instaret Iouis uoluntate effugit uincula et in monte Citherone partum exposuit. natos Cetum et Amphionem proiecit. Hos quidem pastor pro suis educauit. Quos postea mater agnouit, illi uero postea iniurias matris exsecuti Licum interfecerunt; Dircen uero tauros indomitos religatam uita priuauerunt. <b>Ex cuius sanguine lacus excreuit iuxta Thebas, qui usque hodie appellatur Dircen</b>	FABVLA ANTIOPAE, ZETHI ET AMPHION<IS> Antiopa, Nyctei filia, ab Epapho per dolum est stuprata; quae ob id a uiro Lyco est ui eiecta; qua pulsa, Dircen duxit uxorem, <cui suspicio incidit uirum suum clam cum Antiopa concubuisse> imperauitque famulis, ut Antiopam uinctam in tenebras clauderent. Cui cum partus instaret, Iouis uoluntate effugit uincula et in monte Cithaerone - seu Aracyntho - partum exposuit natosque Zethum et Amphionem proiecit. Hos pastor quidam pro suis educauit; quos postea cum mater agnouisset, illi iniurias eius exsecuti Lycum interfecerunt; Dircen uero tauro indomito religatam uita priuauerunt. <b>De cuius sanguine palus Dircen, quae est Thebis, facta esse dicitur</b> <sup>118</sup>

Further evidence for a kinship between the *scholia non serviana* in the Montpellier Vergil and materials in the Mythographers is evidenced by the sources used in both. For example, we find a mixture of Lactantius and Servius in a non-Servian gloss on Mopsus and Calchas in the Montpellier Vergil. The Vatican Mythographers rely on the same sources for their information on Mopsus and Calchas. The gloss appears at the beginning of the fifth *Eclogue* where it recounts a contest that took place in the Grynean grove. It relies upon a Servian comment on *Eclogue* 6, 72 and combines the Servian material with additional non-Servian information drawn from the *Thebaid* commentary:<sup>119</sup>

*dolum est stuprata, itaque a Lyco uiro suo eiecta est. Hanc uiduam Iuppiter compressit. At Lycus Dircen in matrimonium duxit, cui suspicio incidit uirum suum clam cum Antiopa concubuisse; itaque imperauit famulis ut eam in tenebris uinctam clauderent. Cui postquam partus instabat, effugit ex uinculis Iouis uoluntate in montem Cithaeronem; cumque partus premeret et quaereret ubi pareret, dolor eam in ipso biuio coegit partum edere. Quos pastores pro suis educarunt et appellarunt Zeton...alterum autem Amphionem...id est quoniam in biuio eum edidit. Qui postquam matrem agnouerunt, Dircen ad taurum indomitum deligatam uita priuarunt, ex cuius corpore in monte Cithaerone fons est natus qui Dircaeus est appellatus, beneficio Liberi, quod eius baccha fuerat.*

<sup>117</sup> R. SWEENEY (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida commentum, Volumen I*, p. 302-303.

<sup>118</sup> N. ZORZETTI, *Le premier mythographe*, p. 57-58. See also P. KULCSÁR (ed.), *Mythographi Vaticani* 2, cap. 92.

<sup>119</sup> See R. SWEENEY (ed.), *Lactantii Placidi in Statii Thebaida commentum*, p. 220.

« LACTANTIUS » ON <i>THEBAID</i> 3, 520-521	MONTPELLIER H 253, FOL. 9R4 <i>Eclogue</i> 5, opening	VATICAN MYTHOGRAPHER I AND II
MOPSVS Mopsus, Apollinis et Mantus filius, amicitia Iasoni fida coniunctus, diuinandi peritus...In tantum enim magnus fuit Mopsus in augurandi peritia ut post mortem ei templa dicata sint, a quorum adytis saepe homines responsa accipiunt	MOPSVS Mopsus, Apollinis et Thimantis filius, amicitia Iasoni fida coniunctus, diuinandi peritus. In tantum enim magnus fuit Mopsus augurandi peritia ut post mortem ei templa dicata sint ( <b>Lactantius Placidus</b> ). Nam iste Mopsus et Chalcas in grineo nemore, quod est in finibus Ioniis, Apollini consecratum dicuntur inter se de peritia diuinandi habuisse certamen. Et cum de porum ( <i>lege pomorum</i> ) arboris cuiusdam contenderent numero, stetit gloria Mopsi, cuius rei dolore Chalcas interiit. Hoc autem Euforionis continent carmina, quae Gallus tran<s>tulit in Latinum sermonem ( <b>Servius</b> ) <sup>120</sup>	DE MOPSO Mopsus Apollinis et Ymatis filius amicitia Iasoni fida coniunctus diuinandi in tantum extitit peritus quod post mortem eius templa dicata sunt, a quorum aditis sepe homines responsa accipiunt (Vatican Mythographer II, cap. 108) <sup>121</sup> DE MOPSO Mopsus Apollinis et Imantis filius et Calcas dicuntur in Grineo Apollini consecrato nemore de pericia diuinandi inter se certamen habuisse. Et cum de pomorum arboris cuiusdam contenderent numero, stetit gloria Mopso, cuius rei dolore Calcas interiit (Vatican Mythographer II, cap. 268) DE GRYNEO NEMORE Gryneum nemus est in finibus Ioniis, Apollini consecratum, in quo aliquando Calchas et Mopsus de peritia diuinandi dicuntur habuisse inter se certamen. Et cum de pomorum cuiusdam arboris contenderent numero, stetit gloria Mopso; cuius rei dolore Calchas interiit. Hoc Euphorionis continent carmina, quae Gallus transtulit in sermonem Latinum, unde est illud in fine Virgilii, ubi Gallus loquitur (Vatican Mythographer I, 2.92.1-3) <sup>122</sup>

The above gloss is not alone in aligning Lactantius with other sources. Szerwiniack highlights the blend of Lactantius and « Servius auctus » in an Orosian gloss and Taraskin the mixture of Lactantius and Servius in a Horace note.<sup>123</sup>

In sum, given the overlap between the Montpellier Vergil and Mythographers (close textual affinities; shared errors, variants, unidentified comments; use of identical sources, including Lactantius), it seems highly probable that a common intermediary source or sources lay behind some of the mythological materials in both the Montpellier manuscript and Vatican collections. Whether that source was a glossed manuscript, a mythographical anthology or encyclopaedic compilation is difficult to determine.

<sup>120</sup> G. THILO & H. HAGEN, *Servii grammatici*, 3.1: 78, 24-31.

<sup>121</sup> P. KULCSÁR (ed.), *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*, CCSL 91c, 1987.

<sup>122</sup> N. ZORZETTI, *Le premier mythographe*, p. 105.

<sup>123</sup> O. SZERWINIACK, « Un commentaire hiberno-latin », p. 195; P. TARASKIN, *Reading Horace*, p. 176-177.

## Conclusion

It is clear that the Montpellier Vergil exhibits a wealth of non-Servian comments that display close parallels with the Vatican Mythographers. But what about the scholarly context underpinning these parallels? Here, the presence of analogous materials in glosses, glossaries and compendia is germane. By way of illustration, we may note the overlap between the *scholia non serviana* in the Montpellier Vergil and information found in the *Liber glossarum* and Ms. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 468 (saec. IX<sup>3/4</sup>, Laon), which is an assortment of notes for the study of Vergil and other authors.<sup>124</sup> For example, an unknown comment on Daedalus appears in the Montpellier Vergil, the *Liber glossarum* and a number of other Vergil manuscripts (Mss Oxford, Auct. F. 2. 8 and Reg. lat. 1670).<sup>125</sup> In like manner, Ottaviano unearths the same unidentified material on the genealogy of Aeneas in early medieval glossed Vergil manuscripts, the compendium Ms. Laon 468 and the First Vatican Mythographer.<sup>126</sup> Additionally, she underscores the common ground between an unknown comment on the legendary figure of Teucer in the Montpellier and St. Emmeram manuscripts, « Servius auctus » and the Mythographers.<sup>127</sup> Equally relevant are the findings of Michael McCormick, who detects extensive overlap between the Vergil glosses in a Palatine codex (Ms. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1631) and the *Liber glossarum*, whether « because their author consulted the *Liber <glossarum>* or a closely related glossary as a kind of dictionary...or because P's glosses copy from one of the *Liber's* sources ». <sup>128</sup> Similarly, Silvia Gorla suggests that the Vergilian glosses labelled *Virgilio* in the *Liber glossarum* probably derive from Vergil marginalia.<sup>129</sup> In the same manner, Diane Bolton foregrounds the overlap between Remigian commentaries on Boethius and the First Vatican Mythographer.<sup>130</sup> And a cursory examination of the notes transmitted under the title *Glossae super Virgilium* in Ms. Laon 468 indicates that they were probably excerpted from early medieval glossed Vergil manuscripts akin to those circulating in northern and northcentral France in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The accumulated evidence argues for the ebb and flow of information between glosses, glossaries and compendia of all kinds. The overlap between materials in the Montpellier

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<sup>124</sup> See John J. CONTRENI, *Codex Laudunensis 468: A ninth-century guide to Virgil, Sedulius and the liberal arts*, Turnhout, 1984 (*Armarius Codicum Insignium*, 3).

<sup>125</sup> S. O'SULLIVAN, « Glossing Vergil and pagan learning », p. 148.

<sup>126</sup> See footnote 67.

<sup>127</sup> S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 227-231.

<sup>128</sup> Michael MCCORMICK, *Five hundred unknown glosses from the Palatine Virgil (The Vatican Library, MS. Pal. lat. 1631)*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1992 (*Studi e Testi*, 343), p. 31.

<sup>129</sup> Silvia GORLA, « Prime osservazioni sulle glosse Virgilii tramandate nel *Liber glossarum* », *Histoire épistémologie langage*, 36/1, 2014, p. 97-118; eadem, « Per una definizione delle glosse virgiliane contenute nel *Liber glossarum* con indicazione Virgili: Problemi e prospettive », in Anne GRONDEUX (ed.), *Dossiers d'HEL n°10: Le Liber glossarum (s. VII-VIII): Composition, sources, reception*, Paris, 2016, p. 209-224.

<sup>130</sup> Diane K. BOLTON, « Remigian commentaries on the *Consolation of Philosophy* and their sources », *Traditio*, 33, 1977, p. 383, 388, 392 and 393. For a gloss on the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Montpellier Vergil, I have found a close parallel in the St. Emmeram Vergil, as well as some overlap with Boethius glosses and the Mythographers. For the Boethius gloss on Orpheus, see Diane K. BOLTON, « The study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England », *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 44, 1977, p. 62-63. The gloss appears as follows in the St. Emmeram and Montpellier manuscripts: *THREICIVS...SACERDOS Threicius sacerdos. Orpheus Oeagri et Caleope musae filius artis cytharistae peritissimus ad cuius cantum insensibilia occurrere dicuntur; hic autem amissa coniuge dulcedine cantus ab inferis meruit uxorem accipere quod...perdidit* (Aeneid 6, 645; Munich, Archäologische Staatssammlung, Bernhard Starks Collectaneen, his. Ver. 18, VIII: fol. 693v); ... *cytharistae peritissimus ad cuius cantum insensibilia occurrere dicuntur; is amissa coniuge scelere ... Aristei Apollinis filii dulcedine cantus ab inferis Euridicen accipere meruit quam cum iuxta optationem respexisset iterum perdidit* (Montpellier H 253, fol. 131v7). That this gloss should be found in the collection of Bernhard Stark is no surprise, given his interest in the classical past (I'm grateful to Dr Arno Rettner for his insights into Stark).



Vergil and the Mythographers also contributes to broader debate about the extent to which glosses, glossaries, anthologies and commentaries were storehouses of ancient or medieval learning.<sup>131</sup> In the case of the Montpellier Vergil and the Mythographers, the shared content spotlights the currency of Lactantian elements and marks Lactantius as an important conduit of Graeco-Roman mythology. It also demonstrates that mythological lore in early medieval Vergil manuscripts circulated in other works. Moreover, specific points of contact between the Montpellier manuscript and the Mythographers testify to the probability of a shared intermediary source or sources. But this does not preclude direct use of the commentary ascribed to Lactantius, as is apparent in a passage on the Greek hero Bellerophon in the Mythographers.<sup>132</sup> No one scenario, then, can elucidate the countless routes by which mythological lore was transmitted from antiquity to the Middle Ages. As for how this mythological information was deployed and what function it may have served, it is clear that it was largely not repurposed for a Christian audience and was collected not only alongside the works of Vergil in manuscripts emanating from the Carolingian heartland but also in reference works of various sorts. Such efforts bear witness on the one hand to the gathering enterprises at the core of early medieval book culture and on the other hand to scholarly interest in classical antiquity, an integral part of Carolingian and post-Carolingian socio-political ideology, intellectualism, universalism and historiographical culture. The interest in pagan mythology, moreover, accords with well-established programmes of synchronism, parallelism and cultural equivalence, integral to Roman historiographical tradition and found in late antique and early medieval endeavours to calibrate human and divine history. In sum, the conspicuous coincidences between the Montpellier Vergil and the Vatican Mythographers manifestly confirm that the mythological lore in the *scholia non serviana* were not simply a constituent of early medieval glosses on Vergil, but had a broader compass, often reaching well beyond the reception of the poet and contributing to the rich array of sources shaping mythological knowledge in the medieval Latin West.

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<sup>131</sup> For a sample of the debate, see Wallace M. LINDSAY and H. J. THOMSON, *Ancient lore in medieval Latin glossaries*, London, 1921 (*St. Andrews University Publications*, 13); Anna Carlotta DIONISOTTI, « On the nature and transmission of Latin glossaries », in Jacqueline HAMESSE (ed.), *Les manuscrits des lexiques et glossaires de l'Antiquité tardive à la fin du Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international (Erice, 23-30 septembre 1994)*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1996 (*Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 4), p. 205-252.

<sup>132</sup> The passage on Bellerophon in the Mythographers follows closely the wording of the commentary ascribed to Lactantius. The St. Emmeram and Montpellier manuscripts also have a passage on Bellerophon in a gloss on the Chimaera, but the wording is different to that found in the Mythographers. S. OTTAVIANO, « *Scholia non serviana* », p. 235. In other respects, there is considerable overlap between the gloss on the Chimaera and the material in the Mythographers.